

अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अचः, द्वे, प्रथमस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिकारो ऽयम् । एकाच इति च द्वे इति च प्रथमस्येति च त्रितयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्दश्यामः प्राक्संप्रसारणविधानान् तत्रैकाचः प्रथमस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् । वक्ष्यति लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्येति । तत्र धातोरनभ्यासस्यानभ्यासस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

1. In the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel, there are two.

Upto Sûtra VI. 1. 12 inclusive it is to be understood that for the first syllable two are to be made, i. e., the first syllable is to be reduplicated. This is an adhikâra sûtra: all the three words viz एकाचः, and द्वे and प्रथमस्य are to be read in the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 1. 12, before the rule of Samprasâraṇa begins. Thus Sûtra VI. 1. 8 says "when लिट् follows, of an unreduplicated verbal root". The sense of this sûtra is incomplete, unless we supply the three words of this sûtra, when it will read thus: "when लिट् follows, there are two in the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel of an unreduplicated verbal root". Thus from जागृ—जजागार (जागृ + जल् IV. 3. 82 = जा + जागृ + ज = ज + जागृ + ज VII. 4. 59 = जजागार "he awoke"). So also पपाच्, इयाच्, आर from the roots पच्, इ and ऋ ॥ The reduplication takes place through the force of the affix that follows. Thus the affixes of the Perfect Tense (लिट्), the Desiderative (लृत्), the Intensive (यङ्), the ऋतु विकाराणा, the Aorist in चङ्; all cause reduplication.

The word एकाच means that which consists of one vowel (अच्) ॥ When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the एकाच प्रथमः will be the *first syllable*: as in जागृ the portion जा is the प्रथम एकाच 'the first portion consisting of one vowel'. When a root consists of a single vowel, as इ 'to go', then strictly speaking there cannot be any portion which may be called first (प्रथम) or ekâch consisting of a single

vowel). Here, however, will this rule be applied and इ will be reduplicated, according to the maxim “व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्”—“An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach”. So also in पच् there is no *first* syllable strictly speaking, but still the rule will apply under the above maxim. In making Reduplications the Rule I. 1. 59 should always be borne in mind. Thus पच् + अ (जल् of लिट्) = पाच् पाच् + अ = प पाच् + अ (VII. 4. 59 and 60) = पपाच् ॥

The word द्वि in the sūtra indicates that the very word-form is to be doubled or pronounced-twice, and not that another word of similar meaning is substituted. In fact this is not a rule ordaining *substitution* of two, in the room of one; but of the *repetition* of the one. Compare VIII. 1. 1.

अजादेद्वितीयस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, आदेः, द्वितीयस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमद्विर्वचनपवादो ऽयम् । अजादेर्द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्विर्वचनमधिक्रियते । अच् आदिर्यस्य धातोस्तदवयवस्य द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

2. Of that whose first syllable begins with a vowel, there are two in the room of the second portion containing a single vowel.

This debars the reduplication of the *first* syllable. In a verbal root beginning with a vowel, and consisting of more than one syllable, the *second* syllable is to be reduplicated and not the first. Thus the सनन्त root अदिष्, (अद् + सन् = अद् + इद् + सन् VII. 2. 35 = अदिष्), reduplicates the second syllable दिष् and the 3rd per. sing is अदि दिषति, the ष् being elided by VII. 4. 60 : and स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. So also अशिषिषति, अतिरिषति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, ऋ + सन् = ऋ + इद् + सन् (VII. 2. 74) = अर + इ + स (VII. 3. 84, and VI. 1. 51). Here now we have to make reduplication, and if I. 1. 59 be applied, then since a vowel affix इ follows, the reduplication of अर should take place i. e. the ऋ the sthāni should be reduplicated. But we have explained the sūtra द्विर्वचनेऽपि I. 1. 59, by the phrase द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽपि, i. e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इद् does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन् that does so. Therefore rule I. 1. 59 does not apply, for इद् itself is a कार्यी, and the maxim applies कार्यमनुभवन्नि कार्यी निमित्ततया नाधीयते “surely that which undergoes an operation can, so far as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule”. Thus from the root क्षीङ् is formed क्षयित् ; here the root क्षी is guṇated before the augment इद्. Rule I. 1. 5 declaring the prohibition of guṇation with regard to कित् or डित् words does not apply here. For though क्षीङ् has an indicative ऊ, yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.

Some persons explain the word अजादिः as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of अजादिः and they consider the word as a Karma-dhāraya compound and not a Bahuvrīhi compound. According to them the word means:—"The syllable *following* the *initial vowel* is reduplicated". (अच्चासावादिभ्येयआदिः, अजादिरुत्तरस्यएकाचो हे भवतः) ॥ According to this interpretation, the word द्वितीयस्य is merely explanatory.

न न्द्राः संयोगादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, न्द्राः, संयोगादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयस्येति वर्णते । द्वितीयस्यैकाचो ऽवयवभूतानां न्द्राणां तदन्तर्भावात् प्राप्तं द्विर्वचनं प्रतिषिध्य-
ते । नकारदकारेफा द्वितीयैकाचो ऽवयवभूताः संयोगादयो न हिरुच्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वकारस्याप्ययं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ वकारोपधोपदेशे तु न वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ यकारपरस्य रेफस्य प्रतिषेधो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ ईर्ष्यतेस्तृतीय हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ कण्ठ्वासीनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ नामधानूनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यथेष्टं नामधातुष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The letters न्, द् and र् being the first letter of a compound consonant and being part of the second syllable, are not reduplicated.

The word dvitīyasya "of the second syllable", is understood here. This sūtra debars the doubling of the consonants n, d, and r when forming parts of the second syllable, provided these letters occur in the beginning of a conjunct (saṅyoga) letter. Thus the Desiderative root of उन् is उन्दिष, formed by adding सन् and इद् ॥ The second syllable here is न्दिष् which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न् will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उन्दिषिषति; so also from अङ्ङ् and अर्च् we have अङ्ङिषिषति, and अर्चिषिषति ॥

Why do we say "when न्, द् and र् are the letters"? Observe ईचिषिषते from ईच् in which क् is the initial letter and has been reduplicated in to च् ॥ Why do we say "being the first letter in a conjunct consonant"? Observe प्राणिषिषति from the root अन् 'to breathe', the न् being changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase अजादिः of the last sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. Thus हरिद्रासति ॥ Some explain the word अजादिः understood in this sūtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karmadhāraya compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form इन्द्रिषिषति, which is thus evolved इन्द्रमि ष्छति = इन्द्र + क्यच् III. 1. 8 = इन्द्रीय ॥ Then इन्द्रीयितुमिच्छति = इन्द्रीय + सन् ॥ Here though the second syllable consists of n, d and r, yet न् alone is rejected in reduplication and not द् and र् also, as द् and र् are not immediately after the initial vowel (अजादि) इ in this case.

Vārt:—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter न् also. As उङ्ङ्—उङ्ङिषिषति ॥ This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate न् ॥ But when it is taught as primarily

having a penultimate **र**, then the rule does not apply: the **र** should then be ordained as a substitute of **र** ॥ See Tūḍadi root 20.

Vārt:—There is no prohibition of the **र** when it is followed by **य** ॥ Thus **अरायते** ॥ This is the Intensive form of the verb **अर**, and is thus evolved: **अर** + **अह** (III. 1. 22. *Vārt*) = **अर** + **अ** (VII. 4. 30) = **अर्य**, then follows reduplication by the rules of this sūtra. The second syllable **र्य** has an initial **र** which is not however rejected in reduplication,

Vārt:—In the case of the verb **ईर्यति** the third should be reduplicated. "Third of what"? Some say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is **ईर्ययिषति** ॥ Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root **ईर्यिष** (**ईर्य** + **इद्** + **सन्**), the third syllable **ष** is reduplicated: Thus **ईर्यिषष**, **ईर्यिषिष** (VII. 4. 79) the **अ** of **ष** is changed into short **इ** by VII. 4. 79. = **ईर्यिषिषति** ॥

Vārt:—The third syllable of the verbs **कण्डूय** &c. is to be reduplicated. Thus **कण्डूय** + **इद्** + **सन्** = **कण्डूयिष** = **कण्डूयिषति**; so also **असूयिषति** &c.

Vārt:—The third syllable of verbs derived from nouns is optionally reduplicated. Thus **अभीयिषति** or **आभीयिषति** ॥

Vārt:—Others say, any syllable of a **नामधातु** (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated. Thus from the noun **पुत्र** is derived the root **पुत्रीय**, the desiderative root of which is **पुत्रीयिष**, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated; as, 1, **पुपुत्रीयिषति**, 2, **पुतित्रीयिषति**, 3, **पुत्रीयायिषति**, 4, **पुत्रीयिषिषति** ॥ Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as. **पुपुतित्रीयिषति** ॥

पूर्वोभ्यासः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वः, अभ्यासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हे इति प्रथमान्तं यदुपचक्षते तदप्याविह षष्ठ्यन्तं जायते । तत्र प्रत्यासत्तेरस्मिन्प्रकरणे ये हे विहिते तयोर्थः पूर्वोऽवयवः सोऽभ्यासस्तो भवति ॥

4. The first of the two is called the **Abhyāsa** or the **Reduplicate**.

The word **हे** in the nominative case is understood here, but for the purposes of this sūtra it is taken in the Genitive case i. e. **द्वयोर्थः पूर्वः** "the first of the two" ordained above. The word **Abhyāsa** occurs in sūtras III. 1. 6, VI. 1. 7 &c,

उभे अभ्यस्तम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, अभ्यस्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हे इति वर्तमाने उभेप्रकरणे सप्रसारसंज्ञाप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । ये हे विहिते ते उभे अपि समुचित अभ्यस्त-संज्ञे भवतः ॥

5. The both are collectively called **Abhyasta**.

Though the word **हे** was understood in the sūtra, the use of the word **उभे** 'both' indicates that the word **Abhyasta** applies to the two taken together and not to any one of them separately. The word **abhyasta** occurs in sūtras III. 4. 109, VI. 1. 32 &c. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 189 declares "the first vowel of

an Abhyasta gets the udātta accent". The Abhyasta being the collective name of the both, the accent will fall on the first and not on the second, as in वृत्ति dādati, the accent is on the first वृ ॥ So also by VII. 1. 4 अन् takes the place of झ after an Abhyasta, therefore, वृ + झि = वृ + अति = वृत्ति ॥ So also वृत् (VI. 4. 112).

जक्षित्यादयः षट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जक्ष, इत्यादयः, षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तामिति वर्त्तते । जक्ष इत्ययं धातुरित्यादयश्चान्ये षट् धातवोऽभ्यस्तसंज्ञा भवन्ति । सेयं सप्तानां धातूनामभ्यस्तसंज्ञाविधीयते ॥ जक्षभक्षहसनयोरित्यतः प्रवृत्ति वेदीङ् वेतिना तुल्यइति यावत् ॥

6. So also the six roots beginning with jakshi are called abhyasta.

The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhātupāṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, हरिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, वेधी, and वेवी ॥ Pāṇini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six. By getting the designation of Abhyasta these verbs get acute accent on the first syllable when followed by a sārva-dhātuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate इद् and beginning with a vowel. Thus जौग्रति jâ-grati, जौक्षति jâkshati, हौद्रति dâridrati, चौकासति châkâsati, शौशाति śâśati, दीध्यते didhyate, and वेव्यते vevyate. The present participle दीध्यन् is irregularly formed by adding the affix शतृ (अन्) and when so formed it does not take the augment नृ by VII. 1, 78.

तुजादीनां दीर्घोऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुज, आदीनाम्, दीर्घः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुजादीनामितिप्रकारिआर्दीर्घः । कश्च प्रकारः । तुजदीर्घोऽभ्यासस्य न विहितः, दृश्यते च, ये तथाभूतास्ते तुजादयस्तेषामभ्यासस्य दीर्घः साधुर्भवति ॥

7. In the room of a short vowel of the Reduplicate of the roots तुज् &c, a long is substituted.

There is no list of तुजादि verbs given any where. The word आदि in तुजादि therefore should be construed as "verbs like tuj". So that wherever we may find a word having a long vowel in the Reduplicate, we should consider it a valid form. Thus नूतुजानः (तुज् + कानच् III. 2. 106 = नूतुजानः Rig. I. 3. 6). नामहानः, अनङ्गान् शधार, स्वधां मीमाय, स नूताव ॥ This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature. As नूताज शबलान् हरीन् ॥

लिटि धातोरेनभ्यासस्य ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, धातोः, अनभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतोऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरेवयस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचोः द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विर्वचनप्रकरणे छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ लिटिद्विर्वचने जागर्तेवेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. When the tense-affixes of the Perfect follow, there is reduplication of the root, which is not already reduplicated.

The reduplication is either of the first syllable or of the second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus पच् + णल् = पच् पच् + णल् = पपाच ॥ So also पपाठ, प्रोणुर्णवाव ॥ In the case of ऊर्णु, Rule III. 1. 36 does not apply, so the Perfect of this word is not formed by adding आच् and the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस्; but regularly. In fact ऊर्णु is regarded as if it was नु ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 36 Vārt. वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद् भावो यद् प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनं, आमश्च प्रातिषेधार्थमेकाचश्चेदुपमहात् ॥

Why do we say when लद् follows? Observe कर्त्ता, हर्त्ता ॥ Why do we say "of a Dhātu"? Observe ससृवांसो विशृङ्खिरे, सोममिन्द्रायसुन्विरे ॥ The question arises from the fact that the root (dhātu) always directly precedes the affixes of the Perfect, no vikaraṇa intervenes as in the case of other tenses. So there was no necessity of using the word dhātu in the sūtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes लिद् is treated as sārva-dhātuka, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As श्रु taking the vikaraṇa इनु becomes श्रृणु; (III. 1. 74) this whole base is not a dhātu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have श्रृन्विरे ॥ See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say 'of a non-reduplicate'? Observe कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यदी-दम् । नोनृतनोनाव, i. e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नोनृत, and is not reduplicated again, यद् having already caused reduplication. So also संमान्या मरुतः समिनिक्षुः ending in the उत् of the Perfect.

Vārt.—In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As आदित्यान् याचिषामहे or यियाचिषामहे; देवतानो शाति प्रियाणि or दशानि प्रियाणि ॥ मधवा शतु or दशतु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or दधातु ॥

Vārt.—The root जागृ is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, यो जागार (or अजागार) तदृचः कामयन्ते ॥

सन्यङोः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन् यङोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरेनभ्यासस्येति वर्त्तते । सन्यङोरिति च सन्त्यन्तमेतत् । सन्नन्तस्य यङन्तस्य चानभ्यासस्य धातोरेवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचौ द्वितीयस्य वा वयायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

9. Of a non-reduplicate root ending in सन् (Desiderative) or यङ् (Intensive) affixes, there is reduplication.

The word सन् यङोः should be construed as genitive dual and not as Locative dual. In the latter case, the meaning would be "when the affixes सन् and यद् follow, a non-reduplicate root is reduplicated". The difficulty would be that while the root alone would be reduplicated, the augment इद् would not, as in अदिदिषति, अशिशिषति ॥

The phrase धातोरेनभ्यासस्य is understood here also. The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or vowel. Thus पच् + सन् (III. 1. 7) पक्ष, reduplicate विपक्षति (VII. 4. 79). So पत्

विपत्तिषति. ऋ—अरिषति, उन्—उन्निषति ॥ So also of यङन्तः—as, पापय्यते (VII. 4. 83), अदाय्यते, यायज्यते, अरायते, प्रोणोन्त्यते ॥ If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication : as जुगुप्सयते, लोलुपयते being the Desiderative forms of जुगुप्स (already formed by svārthika सन् III. 1. 5), and of लोलुप (the Intensive form of लु) ॥ See III. 1. 22.

इलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ इलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ॐ परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरेवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा ययायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

10. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the vikaraṇa ślu (इलु) follows.

The ॐ is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikaraṇa ण् ॥ The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or a vowel. Thus लुहोति (from हृ), विभेति, जिह्रेति ॥

चङि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरेवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा ययायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

11. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the affix चङ् of the Aorist follows.

The reduplication is of the first or second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus अपीपचन्, अपीपञ्चन्, (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आट्टिन्, आशिञ्चन्, आर्दिन् ॥ These are aorists of the causative roots पाप्वि &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (प्यन्त) verbs पच् &c is to be formed, as here, we should first elide the causative sign णि, then shorten the penultimate vowel, and then reduplicate. Then by VII. 4. 93 the effect would be like as if सन् had followed, and this would not be prohibited by the short vowel being considered sthānivat. For rule VII. 4. 93 says "Let the effect be as if सन् had followed, on the reduplicate, if followed by a light vowel, of an inflective base to which णि followed by चङ् is affixed; provided there is not the elision of any letter in the pratyāhāra अक् occasioned by the affixing of णि ॥" One of the conditions for the application of this rule is that the reduplicate must be followed by a *light* vowel. We have said above that the long penultimate is to be shortened before चङ् ॥ Now arises the difficulty. Should this light vowel coming in the room of a heavy vowel be considered like the heavy vowel by the rule of sthānivat ādeśa (I. 1. 56), or not? It should not be considered so, for the reasons given in I. 1. 57. For it was established there that the sthānivadbhāva will arise then only when some operation is to be done to a thing *anterior* to the non-substituted i. e. original vowel. Here no operation is to be applied to something *anterior* to such original (अनादिष्ट) vowel, but to

a form consisting of such substituted (आदिष्ट) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of सन्वज्ञाव ॥ If this order of operation is not followed, there would arise incongruities. The order must be this: 1st the elision of णि (VI. 4. 51) 2nd the shortening of the penultimate (VII 4. 4) 3rd the reduplication. If the reduplication take place first and the vowel be shortened, then the reduplication having taken place before the substitution of the vowel had taken place, such substitute will now be considered as sthânavad: the *light* vowel being considered as still *heavy*, will prevent the application of सन्वज्ञाव ॥ The difficulty will be in the form of आशीशमन्, where the short is ordained after the णि ॥ If this be the order of operations, there will not be the reduplication of the second syllable णि in the word अदिष्टन् ? This is, however, done by I. 1. 59. which see.

दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वांश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश्वान्, साह्वान्, मीढ्वान्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वानित्येते दाश्वान्साह्वान्सा मीढ्वानि भाषायां चाविशेषेण निपात्यन्ते ॥

सात्तिकम् ॥ कुमासीनां के द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चरिचलिपतिवर्षाणां द्वित्वमध्यक्चाभ्यासस्य ॥

वा० ॥ वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हन्तेर्धत्वं च ॥ वा० ॥ पादेर्जिह्वक् चोक् च दीर्घाभ्यासस्य ॥

12. The participles dāśvān, sāvān and mīdhvān are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word दाश्वान् is from the root दाश् 'to give' with the affix क्त्वा (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment इद् are prohibited irregularly. As दाश्वान्ते शश्वः वृत्तम् (Rig I. 3, 7). The word साह्वान् is derived from the root सह् 'to endure', by adding the affix क्त्वा (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment इद् and the reduplication. Thus साह्वान् बलाहकः ॥ So also मीढ्वान् comes from मिह् 'to sprinkle' with the affix क्त्वा (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of इद्, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of ह् into ढ् ॥ As मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय वृद्धय ॥ It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always, in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vart:—Reduplication takes place when क्त्वा &c, are followed by the affix क् ॥ Thus कियते अनेन = क् + क = चकम्, झिह् + क = चिह्निम् ॥ The affix क् comes after क्त्वा and झिह् with the force of the affix चम् ॥

Vart:—The roots चर्, चल्, पत्, and वद् take reduplication when followed by the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) and the reduplicate (abhyāsa) takes the augment आक् ॥ The final consonants of the Abhyāsa (reduplicate) are not elided in these verbs, in order to give scope to the augment, for if the final consonants be elided by VII. 4. 60, then the addition of the augment becomes unnecessary; as there is no difference between the augment and the ādesa (shortening of the vowel) taught in VII. 4. 59. Thus चराचरः, चलाचल, पतापतः, वदावदः ॥

Vart:—The above vārtika is optional, so we have the forms वरः पुरुषः, धनो रयः, वशो मनुष्यः &c.

Vart:—The root हृन् is reduplicated before the affix अच्, and the augment आह् comes after the Abhyāsa, and ह् is the substitute of ह् of the Abhyāsa. Thus हृन् + अच् = चन् + आह् + हृन् + अच् = घनाघनः (The second ह् is changed into घ by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase घनाघनः क्षोभनघर्षणीनाम् ॥

Vart:—The causative root पादि is reduplicated before the affix अच्, there is elision of णि (sign of the causative), and इङ् is the augment of the Abhyāsa, and it is lengthened. Thus पादि + अच् = पादूपदः ॥

व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यङ्ः, संप्रसारणम्, पुत्र, पत्योः, तत्पुरुषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रं पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥
शासिक्रम ॥ व्यङ्ः सम्प्रसारणे गौकाशयाः पतिवैधः ॥

13. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix व्यङ् of the preceding. That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus क्रीषगन्धिः (a Bahuvrīhi compound taking the samāsanta affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 137) क्रीषगन्धिरपत्यम् = क्रीषगन्धि + अच् (IV. 1. 92) = क्रीषगन्धिः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78). Thus we have क्रीषगन्धिया (see IV. 1. 78). Now in forming the Tatpurusha compound of this word with पुत्र or पति, the final य् will be changed into इ and we have क्रीषगन्धीपुत्रः, क्रीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The आ of या becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौशुदगन्धीपुत्रः ० कौशुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say “of the affix व्यङ्”? Observe इयापुत्रं, शिवयापुत्रः ॥

Why do we say “when followed by पुत्र or पति”? Observe क्रीषगन्धियाकुलम्, कौशुदगन्धियाकुलम् ॥

Why do we say “when forming a Tatpurusha compound”? Observe क्रीषगन्धियापतिरस्य मामस्य = क्रीषगन्धियापतिरस्य मामः ॥ It is a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The affix व्यङ् is here the feminine affix य् followed by चाप् (आ) (see IV. 1. 77 and 74).

A general maxim relating to all affixes is “an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मान् स विहितस्तदोदेस्तदन्त्यग्रहणम्” ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule “a feminine affix denotes whenever

it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word form is subordinate : स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जने न ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्यायाः पुत्रः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasajana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्या, तस्यपुत्रः = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

This vocalisation takes place when पुत्र and पति alone, not compounded with any other word, stand at the end : not so when a word beginning or ending with these words follows. Thus कारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रकुलं, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमपुत्रः &c.

Though a word ending in व्यङ् may have semi-vowels, yet the vocalisation takes place of the affix य (व्यङ्) only, according to the maxim निर्विद्यमानस्यदेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated".

The word संप्रसारण has regulating influence upto VI. 1. 44 inclusive. The rules of vocalisation (change of semi-vowels into vowels) is contained in these sūtras.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when पति and पुत्र follow the word गौकाक्ष्य ॥ As गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः, गौकाक्ष्यायातः instead of गौकाक्ष्यपुत्रः &c.

बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धुनि, बहुव्रीहौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्तते । बन्धुश्चण्डलरूपे बहुव्रीहौ समासे व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥
वा० ॥ मातृमातृकमातृषु ॥

14. There is vocalisation of the affix व्यङ् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौशुदगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound. Like the last sūtra, we have here also परमकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, but अतिकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धु-धनः, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमबन्धुः ॥

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of व्यङ् in a Bahuvrīhi compound with मातृ, मातृक and मातृ optionally: as कारीषगन्धीमातृः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृः, कारीषगन्धीमातृकः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ The indicatory च of मातृ makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debarring the especial accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in क् take the samāsānta affix कप्, so मातृ would have become मातृक by force of V. 4. 153, so the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional.

वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचि, स्वपि, यजादीनाम्, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणमिति वचते । व्यङ् इति निवृत्तम् । वचि । वच परिभाषणे । वृद्धो वचिपिति च । स्वपि ॥ भिष्वप् घञे । यजादयो, यज देवपूजासंगतिकरणशनेभ्यत्यतःप्रधाति भा गणाज्ज्ञान् । तेषां वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

15. The semivowels of the roots वच्, स्वप् and यजादि verbs are vocalised when followed by an affix having an indicative क ॥

The anuvritti of व्यङ् does not run into this sūtra. The root वच् includes the वच् परिभाषणे of the Adādi class (II. 54) and the वच् substitute of वृ (II. 4. 53) स्वप् is the root भिष्वप् घञे of the Adādi class (II 59). The यजादि verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvādi class viz. यज्, वप्, वह्, वस्, वेम्, व्येम्, ह्वेम्, वद् and वधि ॥ The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicative क is added to them. Thus with the Past Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु we have the following forms:—
1. वच्—उक्तः, उक्तवान्, (VIII. 2. 30). 2 स्वप्—सुप्तः, सुप्तवान् 3 वज्—इष्टः, इष्टवान्, (VIII. 2. 36) 4 वप्—उप्तः, उप्तवान्, 5 वह्—ऊढः, ऊढवान् (VIII. 2. 31, 40, VIII. 3. 13 and VI. 3. 111) 6 वस्—ऊषितः ऊषितवान्, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 वेम्—उतः, उतवान्, 8 व्येम्—संवीतः, संवीतवान्, 9 ह्वेम्—हूतः, हूतवान्, 10 वद्—उदितः, उदितवान्, 11 दुःआश्चि—घृन्ः, घृन्वान् ॥

धातो स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यय कार्ये विज्ञायते:—When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dhātu) by mentioning particular verbs (dhātu) specifically, and not by using the word "dhātu", generally, then the operation takes place only when the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots by enunciating the word धातोः ॥ The existence of this maxim is inferred in the formation of the word धौणहृत्यम् in VI. 4. 174, which see. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of वच् in the following वाच्यति, वाचिकः ॥ Here वाच्यति is formed by adding क्यच् to वाच् (वाचमिच्छति) ॥ वाच् is formed by क्तिप् added to वच्, the vowel being lengthened and samprasāraṇa being expressly prevented by Uṇādi II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix विवृप्, विद्, or विच् does not lose its character of a dhātu. Therefore वाच् is a root (धातु), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix क्यच् ॥ But क्यच् is not enunciated to come after a dhātu, but after a सुबन्त (सुप्रभासनः क्यच् III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also वाचिकः formed by adding ङक् to वाच् (See Vārt. V. 3. 83).

ग्रहिज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां डिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहि, ज्या, वयि, व्यधि, वष्टि, विचति, वृश्चति, पृच्छति, भृज्जतीनाम्, डिति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उपशाने, ज्या वयोहानौ, वेमो वयिः, व्यध ताडनं, वश कान्तौ, व्यच व्याजीकरणे, भोग्रवृच् छेदने, प्रच्छ क्षीप्तायां, भ्रज्ज पात्रे, इत्येतेषां धातूनां डिति प्रत्यये परतश्चकारात्किति च संप्रसारणं भवति । परिभाषा ॥ निष्ठादेशः पत्यस्वरप्रत्ययविधीक्षिर्धिषु सिद्धावक्तव्यः ॥

16. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowels of the following verbs, when an affix having an indicatory क् or क् follows:—ग्रह 'to take', ज्या 'to become old', वेष्ट 'to weave', व्यथ 'to strike', वश 'to shine', व्यच 'to deceive', वञ्च 'to cut', प्रच्छ 'to ask', and प्लवज 'to cook, to fry'.

By force of the word 'च' 'and', the anuvritti of कृति is read into this sūtra. Thus 1. ग्रह—गृहीतः, गृहीतवान् (by क्त and क्तवत्), गृह्णाति (I. 2. 4), ग्रीह्यते (by वट् of the Intensive). 2. ज्या—जीनः, जीनवान् (VIII. 2. 44 त changed to न), जिताति (I. 2. 4), the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2 and is shortened again by VII. 3. 80. ज्ञेयीयते (यट्), 3. वचि—The root वेच् is replaced by वच् when लिट् follows (II, 4. 41). This वचि can have no क्ति affix after it, it takes only लिट् terminations, which as we know are क्ति (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of क्ति affixes only. Thus ऊचतुः, ऊचुः ॥ Now arises this question 'why do you enumerate वचि, for is not वेच् (for which वचि is substituted) already included in वच्चादि class of verbs given in the last sūtra, and by force of that sūtra, वचि will get samprasāraṇa before क्ति affixes", The reply is "वचि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasāraṇa with regard to वेच् as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वचि in the Perfect Tense". Thus while the Perfect of वेच् is वचैः, वचतुः, वचुः, the Perfect of its substitute वचि is ऊवाच, ऊचतुः and ऊचुः ॥ More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the य of वच् is not vocalised in लिट् affixes, which therefore, implies (jñāpaka) that the other semivowel i. e. व of वच् will be vocalised. 4. व्यथ—विद्धा, विद्धवान्, and with क्ति affixes विध्यति, विध्यते ॥ 5. वञ्च—उक्षितः, उक्षितवान्, and with क्ति affixes उक्षतः, उक्षन्ति ॥ 6. व्यच—विचितः, विचितवान् विपातः, वेविच्यते ॥ By a Vārṭika under I. 2. 1, the word व्यच is considered to belong to कृतादि class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory क्, क् or the affix वस्, are considered as क्ति, and therefore, there will be samprasāraṇa before these affixes: as, उक्षिचता, उक्षिचितुम्, उक्षिचितव्यम् ॥ 7. वृक्ष—वृकणः, वृकणवान् ॥ How is the final च् of वृक्ष changed into क्, for by VIII. 2. 36 च ought to have been changed into च before the हलादि affix क्? To this we reply the affix क् is replaced by न् (VII. 2. 42) and as this न् is not a हलादि affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim: "The substitute of the Nishṭhā should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to the change of a letter into क्, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment इट्". But when च is to be changed into क्, the substitute is considered asiddha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृकणः &c. Before क्ति affixes we have वृक्षति, वरीवृक्ष्यते ॥ 8. प्रच्छ—पृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), पृष्टवान्, क्ति—पृच्छति, परीपृच्छते ॥ The forms पृष्यच्छ and वृष्यच्छ would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the

application of this rule. But प्रच्छ + नह् (III. 3. 90) = प्रचनः ॥ Here there is no vocalisation, because Pānini himself uses the word प्रचनः in sūtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9, भ्रस्ज—वृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), वृष्टवान्, ङित्—वृज्जति, वरी वृज्ज्यते ॥ The स of भ्रस्ज is changed first into वृ by मलं जग्नं ह्रासि (VIII. 4. 53), and then वृ is changed into ज by स्तोः वृनुना वृनुः (VIII. 4. 40).

लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अभ्यासस्य, उभयेषाम्, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयेषां वाच्यादीनां महादीनां च लिटि परतो ऽभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

17. There takes place vocalisation of the semi-vowel of the reduplicate (abhyāsa) of both vachyādi (VI. 1. 15) and grahādi (VI. 1. 16) words, when the affixes of लिट् follow.

Thus वच—उवाच, उवाचिय, स्वप्—सुप्वाच, सुप्वाचिय, यज—इयाज, इयजिय, दुवप्—उवाप, उवापिय ॥ As regards महादि verbs; मह—जमाह, जमहिय (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). वधा—जिड्यो, जिड्यिय, वधि—उवाध, and उवाधिय; व्यध—विध्याध, विध्याधिय, वरा—उवारा, उवाराध, व्यच्—विध्याच, विध्याचिय, व्रश्च—वव्रश्च and वव्रश्चिय ॥ Some say that with regard to व्रश्च, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, व्रश्च + णल् = व्रश् + व्रदच् + ञ = व + व्रश्च् + ञ (ह्लादि शेषः VII. 4. 60) = वव्रश्च ॥ To this we reply, this form would be evolved no doubt had this rule not existed. But when this rule is applied, and you make reduplication without first vocalising the र, then you will have to vocalise वृ by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to व्रश्च also, for having changed र into ऋ, we have वृव्रश्च् and then change ऋ into व by VII. 4. 66. Then this वृ substitute becomes sthānivat to वृ (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisation of this वृ, for rule VI. 1. 37, prevents the vocalisation of a letter standing before one which has already been vocalised. There is no speciality with regards to प्रच्छ and भ्रस्ज verbs.

This vocalisation of the reduplicate is taught with regard to those affixes which are not कित् ॥ With regard to कित् affixes, the Rule VI. 1. 15 will apply. And as the rule of vocalisation is subsequent to that of reduplication in order, therefore by the maxim of परस्मै I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानास्तिद्धम् "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule". Thus वच् + भतुः (which is कित् I. 2. 5) = वच् + भतुः = वच् + वच् + भतुः = वचतुः, ऊचुः ॥

Though the phrase **वृद्धवचनम्** could have been supplied into this sūtra by the context and the governing scope of the preceding sūtras, its express mention in this sūtra is for the sake of indicating, that the rule of vocalisation supersedes even the rule of **ह्लादिः शेषः** VII. 4. 60, the vocalisation must take place at all events. Thus **व्यध+णल्=व्य+व्यध+अ** ॥ Here by VII. 4. 60, the second consonant **ध** of **व्य** ought to have been elided, and the equation would have stood **व+व्यध्+अ**, and there would have been vocalisation of **व** by this rule. But that is not intended; there is vocalisation of **व्य** and we have **विव्याध** ॥ In fact, the universal maxim of vocalisation is:—"The samprasâraṇa and the operations dependent on it possess greater force than other operations which are simultaneously applicable". **संप्रसारणं तदाश्रयं च कार्यम् बलवत् ॥**

स्वापेभ्वाङि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापेः, चङि, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वापेरिति स्वपेर्न्यन्तस्य पहणं तस्य चङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

18. Of the causative verb **स्वापि** "to cause one to sleep", there is vocalisation of the semivowel, when the affix **चङ्** of the Reduplicated Aorist follows.

Thus the Aorist of **स्वापि** is **असूयुपन्, असूयुपताम्, असूयुपन् ॥** The vocalisation takes place before reduplication, then there is guṇa of the penultimate short vowel, then this is again shortened by VII. 4. 1, then there is reduplication, and then lengthening of the vowel of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 94. Thus **स्वापि+चङ्=सुपि+चङ्=सुप्** (VI. 4. 51)+**चङ्** (VII. 3. 86)=**सोप्+चङ्=सुप्+चङ्** (VII. 4. 1)=**सु+सुप्+चङ्** (VI. 1. 11)=**सूयुपन्** (VII. 4. 94) which with the augment **अ** becomes **असूयुपन् ॥**

Why do we say 'when **चङ्** follows'? Observe **स्वाप्यते, स्वापितः ॥** The anuvritti of **किति** has ceased, that of **ङिति** however is here.

स्वपिस्यमिव्येञां यङि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि, स्यामि, व्येञाम्, यङि, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निष्पद् शये स्वप् स्वन् ध्वन शब्दे, व्येञ् संवरणे, इत्येतेषां धातूनां यङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

19. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the verbs **स्वप्** 'to sleep', **स्यम्** 'to shout', and **व्ये** 'to cover', when followed by the affix **यङ्** of the Intensive.

Thus **सोयुप्यते, सेसिम्यते, वेवीयते** (VII. 4. 25 the short **इ** is lengthened). Why do we say 'when **यङ्** follows'? Observe **स्वमक्** formed by **नञिङ्** III. 2. 172.

न वशः ॥ २० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वङीति वर्णते । वशोर्द्धांतोऽयङि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

20. There is not vocalisation of the semi-vowel of **वश**, when the affix **यङ्** follows.

The word यङि is understood here. As वाचयते, वाचयेते, वाचयन्ते ॥ Why do we say "when यङ् follows"? Observe उष्टः, उष्टन्ति ॥ See VI. 1. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः की ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्त्तते । अथि पूजानिष्ठावनयोरित्येतस्य धातोर्नङि परतः कीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

21. 'The verb की is substituted for the verb चाय् 'to worship, to observe', when the Intensive affix यङ् follows.

The phrase यङि is understood here. Thus चेकीयते, चेकीयेते, चेकीयन्ते ॥ The exhibition of की in the sūtra with a long ई indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where यङ् is elided, as चेकीतः ॥ For if the sūtra had enunciated कि with a short इ as the substitute of चाय्, the forms चेकीयते &c would have been still valid. Thus कि + यङ् = चि + कि + य = चे + कि + य = चे + की + य (VII. 4. 25 causing the lengthening of the short इ). But then the Nishṭhā would have been चेकितः which is wrong.

स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, स्फी, निष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फायी भोप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः स्फीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

22. 'The स्फी is the substitute of स्फाय् 'to swell', when the Nishṭhā affixes follow.

Thus स्फीतः, स्फीतवान् ॥ Why do we say "when the Nishṭhā affixes follow"? Observe स्फातिः formed by क्तिन् ॥ In the phrase स्फाती भवति, the word स्फाती is the feminine of the word स्फाति formed by क्तिन् ॥ The phrase निष्ठायाम् "when the Nishṭhā follows" governs all the subsequent sūtras up to VI. 1. 29.

स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्यः, प्र, पूर्वस्य, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायामिति वर्त्तते सम्प्रसारणमिति च । स्फा इत्येतन्न स्वर्थते । स्त्ये व्यौ शब्दसंघातयोर्द्वयोरप्येतयोर्द्धात्वोः स्त्याकरुपापन्नयोः सामान्येन ग्रहणम् । स्त्या इत्येतस्य प्रपूर्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः सम्प्रसारणं भवति ॥

23. The verb स्त्या (स्त्यै and ष्यै) when preceded by प्र changes its semivowel to a vowel, when a Nishṭhā affix follows.

The phrases "when the nishṭhā follows", and "there is vocalisation" are understood here. The anuvritti of स्फी does not run here. The roots स्त्यै and ष्यै both assume the form स्त्या and are included here. Thus प्र + स्त्या + क् = प्र + स्ति + त (VI. 1. 108) = प्रस्तीतः (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ The ण of nishṭhā affix would have been changed into न् by VIII. 2. 43 in as much as the root स्त्या has a semivowel and ends in long आ ॥ But by the vocalisation of य, the condition of यण्वत् for the application of VIII. 2. 43, no longer existing, the affix ण is not changed to न ॥ But त is optionally changed to म् by VIII. 2. 54 as प्रस्तीमः and प्रस्तीमवान् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by प्र"? Observe संस्थानः (VIII. 2. 43), संस्थानवान् ॥ If it was intended that vocalisation should take place when प्र

singly stood before, then the sūtra could well have run thus प्रसृष्टः ॥ The use of the word प्रसृष्ट implies that the rule applies when प्र stands first, though other upasargas may intervene between it and the root. Thus प्रसंस्तीतः, प्रसंस्तीतवान् ॥ The compound प्रपूर्वस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi = प्रः पूर्वो यस्य धातूपसर्ग-समुदायस्य स प्रपूर्व (that which consisting of root and upasarga is preceded by प्र is called प्रपूर्व). Therefore the rule is made applicable to प्रसंस्तीतः &c.

द्रवमूर्त्तिस्पर्शयोः इयः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रवमूर्त्तिः, स्पर्शयोः, इयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रवमूर्त्ती द्रवकाठिन्ये स्पर्शे वर्त्तमानस्य श्येङ् गतावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

24. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the root इया (इयै) 'to go' when the nishṭhā affixes follow, when the sense is "coagulation" or "cold to touch".

The word द्रवमूर्त्ति means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c. Thus शीनं घृतं, शीना वसा, शीनं मेघः "a coagulated butter, grease &c". The त् of nishṭhā is changed to न by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of 'cold', the त् is not changed; as शीतं वर्त्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतप्लवकम् ॥ The word शीत is here used both as a noun meaning 'cold weather &c', and an adjective denoting 'cold'. There is no vocalisation when the sense is not that of 'coagulation' or 'cold', as संदयानो वृश्चिकः 'the rolled up scorpion'. The short इ is lengthened in शीन &c, by VI. 4. 2.

प्रतेश्च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इय इति वर्त्तते । प्रतेरुत्तरस्य इयायतेर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

25. There is vocalisation of इया preceded by the upasarga प्रति, when the nishṭhā affixes follow.

Thus प्रतिशीनः प्रतिशीनवान् ॥ This sūtra applies to cases where the words need not have the meaning of "coagulation" or "cold".

विभाषा ऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अभि, अव, पूर्वस्य, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्य इति वर्त्तते । अभि अव इत्येवपूर्वस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

26. There is optionally the vocalisation of इया followed by the Nishṭhā affixes, when the upasargas अभि and अव precede it.

Thus अभिशीनम् or अभिश्यानम् घृतं, अवशीनम् or अवश्यानम् वृश्चिकः ॥ This option applies even when the word means "coagulation" and "cold". As अवशीनं or अवश्यानं घृतं, मेघः ॥ अवशीतो or अवश्यानो वायुः, &c. अवशीतं or अवश्यानप्लवकं ॥

The पूर्व in this sūtra serves the same purpose as in VI. 1. 23. Thus अभिसंशीनं or अभिसंश्यानं, अवसंशीनं, अवसंश्यानं ॥ According to the author of Sid-dhānta Kaumudi, the word पूर्व shows that it is a vyavasthita vibhāṣhā, hence there is no option allowed when अभि and अव are in the middle, as, समभिश्यानं, समवश्यानं ॥ Here we cannot have the alternative forms समभिशीनं &c.

शृतं पाके ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृतम्, पाके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्यनुवर्त्तते । आ पाके इत्येतस्य धातोर्न्यन्तस्यान्यन्तस्य च पाके ऽभिधेये कप्रत्यये परतः
बुभावो निपात्यते विभाषा ॥

27. Optionally शृत is formed in the sense of 'cooked', by the vocalisation of the semivowel of आ before the nishṭhâ affix क् ॥

The word विभाषा is understood here. The roots श्रे 'to cook' of the Bhvadi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Adâdi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Bhvâdi sub-class Ghaṭâdi, are meant here. In all these, शृ replaces आ, whether causative or not. Thus शृतं क्षीरं, शृतं हविः ॥ This is a vyavasthita vivhâshâ ; so that आ is invariably changed to शृ when referring to क्षीर and हवि, but not anywhere else. Thus आणा यवागूः, अपिता यवागूः (VII. 3. 36 and VI. 4. 92). This word does not take double causative though the sense may require it. As अपितं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन यज्ञवत्तेन "Devadatta through Yajñadatta has caused the milk to be cooked". The आ is intransitive. When the sense is that of Reflexive, or Causative, there the form शृत is to be used. As शृतं क्षीरं स्वयमव, शृतं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन ॥

प्यायः पी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्यायः, पी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्येव । ओप्यायी वृद्धादित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां विभाषा पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. पी is optionally the substitute of the root प्याय् 'to increase' before the Nishṭhâ affixes.

The root ओप्यायी वृद्धौ belongs to Bhvâdi class. The indicatory ञा shows that the affixes त् and तवत् are changed into ञ and नवत् (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीनं दुग्धम्, पीनो बाहू, पीनद्वरः ॥ The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ). The substitution takes place *invariably* when the root is without upasarga, and *never* when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus प्रप्यानः आप्यानश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition आङ् precedes the root, and the words भङ्गुः and ऊधस् are in composition : as आपीनोन्मुः, आपीनमूधः ॥

लिङ्यङोश्च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यङोः, च, (पी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । प्यायः पीत्येतच्चशब्देनावुक्त्यते । लिटि यङि च परतः प्यायः पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

29. There is substitution of पी for प्याय् when the affixes of the Perfect (लिङ्) and the Intensive (यङ्) follow.

The anuvritti of the word विभाषा ceases. The phrase प्यायः पी of the last sūtra is drawn into this by force of the word च 'and'; thus आपिप्ये, आपिप्याते, आपिप्यिरे ॥ The substitution of पी a subsequent rule, would have debarred reduplication which precedes it in order. The reduplication, however, takes place after the substitution, by force of the maxim of पुनः प्रसङ्ग &c men-

tioned in VI. 1. 17. Thus पी + लिट् = पि + पी + त् = पि + व्य + ए (VI. 4. 82 the व being substituted) = आपिप्ये with the affix आप्. So also in the Intensive, as आपिपीयते, आपिपीयन्ते ॥

विभाषा द्वेः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, श्वेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्यङोपिति वर्त्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । लिटि यङि च द्वयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ।

30. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel of श्वि before the affixes of the Perfect and the Intensive.

The phrases लिङ् यङोः and संप्रसारणं are to be read into this sūtra. Thus शुषावे or शिष्याय, शुश्रुवतुः or शिश्रियतुः ॥ So also in the Intensive as शीश्रुयते or शश्रीयते ॥ The root श्वि would not have taken vocalisation before यङ् by any previous rule, this sūtra teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before लिङ्, which is a क्तिन् affix, invariably by VI. 1. 15, this sūtra modifies that by making the substitution optional. In the alternative, when the root does become vocalised, the reduplicate is also not vocalised in spite of VI. 1. 17. This explains the form शिष्याय, which by VI. 1. 17 would have been शुष्याय ॥ श्वि + जल् = (श्रु ङङ् + जल् VI. 1. 30) = शु + जल् (VI. 1. 108) = शु + शु + अ (VI. 1. 8) = शुषाव ॥

णौ च संश्रद्धोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्, चङोः, (संप्रसारणम्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा द्वेरेति वर्त्तते । सन्परे चङ् परे च णौ परतः श्वयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

31. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel, in the causative of श्वि, when followed by the Desiderative सन् and the Aorist चङ् affix.

The phrase विभाषा श्वेः is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of श्वि, there is optional vocalisation. Thus शुषावयिषति or शिष्याययिषति ॥ So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चङ्, as अशुश्रुवत् or अशिष्यवत् ॥ By the maxim संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाभ्यं च बलीयो भवति (see sūtra VI. 1. 17), the antaranga substitution of Viddhi &c is superseded by the samprasāraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vṛiddhi and the substitution of आत् take place *after* the samprasāraṇa has taken place. The sūtra VII. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of ई for the उ of the reduplicate, when सन् follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by णि is sthānivat though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. 1. 59). Thus श्वि + णि = श्वै + इ = श्वाय + इ = श्वायि ॥ In reduplicating श्वायि we cannot form श्वाश्वाय, but must consider the substitute equal to the original इ of श्वि and must reduplicate it. We thus get शिष्याययिषति ॥ In the case of vocalisation, the rules of Vṛiddhi &c are postponed. Thus श्वि + णि + सन् (VI. 1. 108) = शु + णि + सन् = शौ + इ + सन् = शाङ् + इ + इङ् + सन् = शावे + इङ् + सन् = शावयि + सन् ॥ Here we requ-

ire reduplication. Here the substitute **आइ** in **आइ** though not *caused* by **सम्**, is treated sthānivat under I. 1. 59 to **इ**, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: **मि + मि + चङ् = शु + इ + भ = शु + शु + इ + भ = शु + शौ + इ + भ = शु + आइ + इ + भ = शु + आइ + इ ÷ भ (VII. 4. 1) = शु + आइ ÷ ० ÷ भ (VI. 4. 51) = अशुआइम् (VII. 4. 94)**

हः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ च संभङ्गोऽस्ति वर्तते । सन्तरे चङ् परे च णौ परतो हः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

32. There is the vocalisation of the semivowel of the causative of *hve* (ह्वे) before the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist affixes.

The whole of the last sūtra is to be read into this sūtra. Thus **शुहाव-यिषति** and **शुहावयिषतः**, **शुहावयिषन्ति**; **अजुहवत्**, **अजुहवताम्** and **अजुहवन् ॥** The root **ह्वा** does not take the augment **य** required by VII. 3. 37 before the affix **णि**, because the Samprasāraṇa rule is stronger. The repetition of the word **संप्रसारण** in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the force of the word **विभाषा** has ceased. Though this and the next sūtra could well have been made one, their separation shows that the samprasāraṇa does not take place when another affix, not causing reduplication, intervenes. As **ह्वायकामिच्छति = ह्वायकीयति**; the Desiderative of this verb is **जिह्वायकीयति ॥**

अभ्यस्तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तस्य, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह् इति वर्तते, स अभ्यस्तस्य चेत्यनेन व्यधिकरणम्, अभ्यस्तस्य यो ह्यतिः, कथाभ्यस्तस्य ह्यतिः, कारणं, तेनाभ्यस्तकारणस्य ह्यतेः प्रागेव द्विचनान्तसंप्रसारणं भवति ॥

33. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of **ह्वा** in the reduplicated form, in both the syllables.

The abhyasta means the reduplicate and the reduplicated, both the syllables. The vocalisation takes place before reduplication. Thus **शुहाव**, **जोह्वये**, and **जुह्वयति ॥** This and the last sūtra are one, in the original of Pāṇini, they have been divided into two by the authority of a Vārtika.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह् इति वर्तते । छन्दसि विषये ह्यतेर्जातो बहुलं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

34. In the Chhandas, the semivowel of this root is diversely vocalised.

Thus **ह्वे** or **ह्वामि**, as **इन्द्राग्नी ह्वे** 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. **देवीं सरस्वतीं ह्वे ॥** The form **ह्वे** is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana **वाप्** is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of **उवङ् ॥** So also **ह्वामि** मरुतः शिवान्, **ह्वामि** विद्वान्, **ह्वान्** ॥ So also **ह्वः** as **शुभीह्वम्** (Rig I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation'.

चायः की ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वर्त्तते । चायतेर्द्धात्तां छन्दसि विषये बहुलं कीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. For चाय् is diversely substituted की in the Chhandas.

Thus विधुता निचिक्युः, नान्यं चिक्युर्न निचिक्युरन्यम् ॥ These are forms ending in the affix उत् of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As अग्नि-
व्योतिर्निचाय्यः ॥

अपस्पृधेयामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजभ्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्त्ताः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ अपस्पृधेयाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्,
आशीः, आशीर्त्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्पृधेयाम् आनृचुः आनृहुः चिच्युषे तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः, आशीर्त्तः, एतेनिपात्यन्ते
छन्दासि विषये ॥

36. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with :—अपस्पृधेयाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः and आशीर्त्तः ॥

The word छन्दसि is understood here. From the root स्पर्द्ध 'to challenge', is formed अपस्पृधेयाम् being the Imperfect (लङ्), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada : there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र्, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यवस्पृधेयाम् ॥ In secular language the form is अस्पृधेयाम् ॥ Some say, it is derived from स्पर्द्ध with the preposition अप्, the vocalisation of र्, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment अद् in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपास्पर्द्धेयाम् ॥ From अर्च and अर्ह 'to respect, to worship', are derived आनृचुः and आनृहुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उत्, there being vocalisation of र् and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then क् changed to अ, then the lengthening of this अ, then the addition of the augment न्, as : अर्ह + उत् = अक् + उत् = अ + अक् + उत् = अ + अक् + उत् (VII. 4. 66) = आ + अक् + उत् (VII. 4. 70) = आ + न् + अक् + उत् (VII. 4. 71) = आनृचुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasârṇa with the elision of अ ॥ Thus यवमा अर्कमानृचुः, न वसुन्यानृहुः ॥ The secular forms will be आनर्चुः, आनर्हुः ॥ The form चिच्युषे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root च्युङ् 'to go' : there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment इद् before the affix से ॥ This is the irregularity. The regular form is चुच्युषे ॥ The form तित्याज is the Perfect of त्यङ्, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is तित्याज ॥ From the root श्रीस् 'to cook', is derived भ्राता before the Nishṭhā affix, श्री changed to भ्रा irregularly. As भ्रातास्त इन्द्रसोमाः ॥ The form श्रितं is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix. As सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः, श्रिता नो गृहाः ॥ Some say the भ्रा substitution of श्री takes place when the word refers to सोम, in the plural, and श्रि when it refers to other

than सोम ॥ Sometimes the word आतः is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम । Thus यदि आतो जुहोतन ॥ In fact, the exhibition of the word आताः in the plural in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary. The words आशीर् and आशीर्त्तः are from the same root श्री, with the prefix आङ् and taking the affixes क्तिप् and क्त respectively. Before these श्री is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nishṭhā is irregular. As, तामाशीरा दुहन्ति आशीर्त्तं ऋज्वन्, शीरैर्मध्यत आशीर्त्तः ॥

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न भवति ।

वाचिकम् ॥ ऋचि त्रैस्तत्परपदादिलोपश्छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ ख्येर्मतौ बहुलम् ॥

37. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

Thus व्यच्; has two semi-vowels व् and य्; when य् is once vocalised into इ, the preceding व् will not be vocalised into उ ॥ Thus we have विद्धः ॥ From व्यच्—विचितः, व्येम्—सवीतः ॥ Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jāpaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व being changed to उ, the य is not changed as युना ॥ It might be objected that when the उ of यु, and उ the samprasāraṇa of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthānivat to the original, the य and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthānivat (See I. 1. 58). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of the semivowel of त्रि when followed by ऋच्, and there is elision of the ऋ of ऋच्, when it refers to Metres. As त्रिषु ऋचो यस्मिन्=तृचं सुक्तं ॥ तृचं साम ॥ The word तृच् takes the samāsānta affix ऋ by V. 4. 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe तृचं कर्म ॥

Vart:—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of रवि followed by the affix मतुप् as रवि + मतु = रव + मतु = र + व + मतु = र + व + मतु (VIII. 2. 15) = रेवत्; as, भा रेवानितु नो विशः ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रविमात् पुटिवर्जनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of कश्चा before मतु when a Name is meant: as कक्षीयन्तं य औशिजः ॥ This Vārtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कक्षीवत् is given.

लिटि वयो यः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, वयः, यः (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्त्तते । लिटि परतो वयो यकारस्य संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

38. In the substituted root वय (II. 4. 41), the य in the Perfect is not vocalised.

The phrase न संप्रसारणं is understood here. Thus उवाय, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ The word लिट् is employed in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras, this one could have done well without it even.

वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, किति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य वयो यकारस्य किति लिटि परतो वकारादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

39. Before the tense-affixes of the Perfect that have an indicatory क (I. 2. 5), for the य् of वय् may optionally be substituted a व् ॥

Thus ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः, ऊयुः or ऊवुः ॥ According to Pātanjali, the phrase वश्चास्य of this sūtra could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—अन्यतरस्यां किति वेशः ॥ Thus वे + अतुस् = वा + वा + अतुस् = ववतुः and ववुः (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—वा + अतुस् = उ + अतुस् = उ + उवङ् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 77) = ऊवतुः, ऊवुः ॥ Here there is vocalisation. In the case of वय् substitute, the य is never vocalised, so we have ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वश्चास्य ॥

वेञः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वेञः, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटीत्यनुवर्त्तते । वेञ् तन्नुसंतानइत्यस्य धातोर्लिटि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

40. The semivowel of वे 'to weave' is not vocalised in the Perfect.

Thus ववौ, ववतुः, ववुः ॥ This root belongs to यञादि class and would have been vocalised before कित् affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-कित् affixes the Reduplicate syllable of the Perfect would have been vocalised by VI. 1. 17. Both vocalisations are prohibited here.

व्यपि च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यपि, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेश इत्यनुवर्त्तते । व्यपि च परतो व्यञः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

41. The semivowel of वे is not vocalised when the Participial affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रवाय, उपवाय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of ल्यप् only runs.

ज्यश्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । ज्या वयोहानावित्यस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

42. The semivowel of ज्या 'to grow old' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रज्याय, उपज्याय ॥

व्यश्च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । व्येच् संवरणइत्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

43. The semivowel of व्या (व्ये) 'to cover' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

As प्रव्याय, उपव्याय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvritti of व्ये runs.

विभाषा परेः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, परेः, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि च व्यञ्जेत्यनुवर्त्तते । परेरुत्तरस्य व्यञ्जित्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतो विभाषा संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

44. The vocalisation may optionally take place when व्ये preceded by परि takes the affix ल्यप् ॥

Thus परिवीच्य वृषम् or परिव्याय ॥ The augment तुक् presented by VI. 1. 71 is debarred by VI. 4. 2. which causes the lengthening of the vowel: since VI. 4. 2 is subsequent to VI. 1. 71.

आदेच उपदेशे ऽशिति ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, एच्, उपदेशे, अशिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातो रिति वर्त्तते । एजन्तो यो धातुरपदेशे तस्याकारापदेशो भवति शिति तु प्रत्यये न भवति ॥

45. In a root, which in the system of grammatical instruction (i. e. in the Dhātupāṭha), ends with a diphthong (ए, ऐ, ओ and औ), there is the substitution of आ for the diphthong, provided that no affix with an indicatory श् follows it.

The word धातोः is to be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 8. Thus ग्लौ-ग्लाता, ग्लातुम्, ग्लातव्यम्, शौ—निशाता, निशातुम्, निशातव्यम् ॥ Why do we say ending with an एच् (diphthong)? Observe कर्त्ता from कृ, and हर्त्ता from हृ ॥ Why do we say in upadeśa or Dhātupāṭha? Observe चेता, स्तोता where चे and स्तो are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the Dhātupāṭha, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-शिन् affixes? Observe लै-1-शप् + तिप् = ग्लायति, म्लायति ॥ Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix एश् of the Perfect: as जग्ने, मग्ने ॥ This is explained by interpreting the word शिन् as शिदादि, that is the affixes having an indicatory श् in the beginning: एश् has श् at the end. This is done on the maxim यस्मिन् विधिस्तदाशब्दं महणे "when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule in the form of the Locative

case, and qualifies some thing else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question and not as ending whith it".

The word अशिति is an example of प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः, a simple prohibition of a contingent case. Therefore, the substitution of आ for एच् vowels, is not caused by the affixes that follow, but must take place prior to the occasion for the application of the affixes arises. Thus III. 1. 136 ordains क after roots ending in आ; so that लै and ल्लै are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुग्लः, सुग्लः ॥ Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply युच् to ल्लै and ल्लै by presupposing it as आदन्त roots: as सुग्लानः, सुग्लानः ॥

The word आ is understood in all the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 1. 57

न व्यो लिटि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्यः, लिटि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ् इत्येतस्य धातोर्लिटि परत आकारादेशो न भवति ॥

46. There is not the substitution of आ for the Diphthong of the root व्ये when the affixes of the Perfect follow.

Thus संविख्याय, संविष्ययिष ॥ The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in संविख्याय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the णिन् affix णल् ॥

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घञि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, घञि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेश इति वर्तते । रफुर स्फुल चलनइत्येतयोर्द्धात्वादेशः स्थाने घञि परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

47. In the roots स्फुर् and स्फुल् 'to move', there is the substitution of the आ for the diphthong when the affix घञ् follows.

Thus विस्फारः instead of विस्फोरः, and विस्फालः instead of विस्फोलः ॥ By VIII. 3. 76, the स is optionally changed to ष after वि, as विष्फारः, and विष्फालः ॥

क्रीङ्जीनां णौ ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री, इङ्, जीनाम्, णौ, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्क्रीम् इत्यादिनिमये, इङ् अध्ययने, जि जये, इत्येतेषां धातूनामेषः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

48. The substitution of आ for the diphthong takes place in the causatives of the roots क्री 'to by', इ 'to study' and जि 'to conquer.'

Thus क्रापयति, अध्यापयति and जापयति ॥ The augment ञ् is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long आ ॥

सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिध्यतेः, अपारलौकिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाशितिवर्तते । बिधु हिंसासंराद्धयो रित्यस्य धातोर्पारलौकिकेर्धे वर्तमानस्यैचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. The substitution of आ takes place for the diphthong in the causative of सिध्, when it does not refer to the next life.

The word पारलौकिक is derived from परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix इञ् with the force of 'for the sake of' (V. 1. 109). The double Vṛiddhi takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word सिध् must refer to अज्ञान or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus अन्नं साधयति, भानं साधयति ॥ Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See सपस्तापसं सेधयति, स्वान्धवनं कर्माणि सेधयन्ति ॥ The force of सिध् is here that of knowledge, तापसः सिद्धति = ज्ञानावशेषमासादयति ॥ The ascetic acquires certain knowledge through austerities, the knowledge so acquired produces its result in the next world (परलोक) i. e. the next life, therefore, the साधन of the ascetic is for the sake of the next life, and so there is no substitution of आ for ए ॥ Why the substitution does not take place here: अन्नं साधयति, ब्राह्मणेभ्योऽस्यानि 'he causes food to be prepared for the purpose of giving to the Brahmanas'. Here though the gift of the food produces effect in the next world, yet as that is the effect of ज्ञान and not of the verb सिध्, the substitution does take place. When the verb सिध् *directly* and not through the mediation of another action, produces pāraloukika effect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb सिध् here belongs to the Di/Ādi class and not to the Bhvādi, as the form सिध्यति in the sūtra shows it.

मीनातिमिनोतिदीङां ह्यपि च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनाति, मिनोति, दीङाम्, ह्यपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिच्च उपदेशइति वर्त्तते । मीम् हिंसायाम्, डुमिम् प्रक्षेपणे, दीङ् क्षय, इत्येतेषां धातूनां स्थितिं विषये चकारादेशश्च विषये उपदेशएव प्राक् प्रत्ययोऽप्यनेरलोन्त्यस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. And there is substitution of आ for the finals of मी 'to hurt', मि 'to scatter', and दी 'to decay' when the affix ह्यप् follows, as well as before those affixes which demand this substitution for the diphthong.

By force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than णच्, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशावस्थायाम् आदेशो भवति) ॥ So that these verbs should be understood as if they were enunciated with an आ, so that all rules of affixes relating to आ will apply to them. Thus प्रमाता, प्रमातव्यम्, प्रमातुम्, प्रमाय, निमाता, निमातुम्, निमातव्यम्, निमाय, उपशता, उपशतव्यम्, उपशतुम्, उपशय ॥ The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपदेश (in the dhātupāṭha) of

these roots, the affixes relating to roots ending in इ or ई do not apply to these at all. Thus उपशयो वर्त्तते, ईषदुपशानं, formed by घञ् and युञ् by taking शी=श and adding these affixes (III. 3. 128 and III. 3. 18) and not the affixes अच् (III. 3. 56) and खल् (III. 3. 126).

विभाषा लीयते: ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लीयते: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीति वर्त्तते, आदेश उपदेशइति च । लीड् श्लेषणइति शिवादिः ली श्लेषणइति कषादिस्तयोह-
भयोरपि यक्ता निर्देशः स्मर्यते । लीयतर्द्रातोर्त्यप च एचश्च विषये उपदेशएवालोन्यस्य स्थाने विभाषा आका-
रादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमीलित्यां खलचोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

51. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the final of ली 'to adhere', in the very dhātupāṭha, when the affix ल्यप् follows or such an affix as would demand this substitution of the diphthong.

The final of ली will take guṇa substitution before शित् affixes, and will become ले, this incipient diphthong ए is changed to आ by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus खिद् will be खेद्, and then ए changed to आ, गुर=गोर् and भ्रा changed to आ &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvritti of एच् 'diphthong' in all sūtras. The words ल्याप and आदेश उपदेश are understood here. The roots ली belonging to Divādi and Kriyādi are both included here. Thus विलाता, विलातुम्, विलातध्म, विलाय, विलेता विलेतुम्, विलेतव्यम् and विलीय ॥

Vart:—The आ substitution does not take place when the affix अच् (III. 3. 56, III. 1. 134) and खल् (III. 3. 126) come after नि, मि, मी and ली: as, ईषमिमयः, निमयो वर्त्तते । ईषत्प्रमयः, प्रमयो वर्त्तते । ईषद् विलयः, विलयो वर्त्तते ॥

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of 'showing respect,' 'deceiving' or 'insulting'. As कस्त्वापुष्पापयते, इयनो वार्त्तिकामुष्पापयते ॥ The option allowed by this aphorism is a restricted option (vyavasthita-vibhāshā) The substitution of आ for the final of ई is optional when the sense of the root is not that of 'showing respect', 'subduing' or 'deceiving'. But when it has any one of these three senses, the substitution is compulsory. See I. 1. 70.

खिदेश्छन्दसि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिदेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषति वर्त्तते । खिद् दैन्यइत्यस्य धातारश्चः स्थानेऽछन्दसि विषये विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

52. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the verb खिद् 'to suffer pain', in the Chhandas.

The word विभाषा is understood here. Thus चित्तं चित्ताद् or चित्तेद् ॥ In secular literature we have चित्तं खेदयति ॥

अपगुरो णमुलि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप, गुरः, णमुलि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुरी उद्यमनइत्यस्य धातोर्पपूर्वस्य णमुलि परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

53. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root गुर 'to exert' when preceded by the preposition अप and taking the affix णमुल् ॥

The affix णमुन् forming the Absolutive Participle is added by III. 4. 22, and the word formed by it is repeated. Thus अपगामपगाम् or अपगामपगोरम् ॥ So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53: as, अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते or अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते "they are fighting with raised swords'.

चिस्फुरोर्णौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चि, स्फुरोः, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिम् स्फुर इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वाणौ परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

54. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the roots चि and स्फुर when in the Causative.

Thus चापयति, चाययति (VII. 3. 36 for the addition of ए) so also स्फोरयति or स्फारयति ॥

प्रजने वीयतेः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, वीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णामिन् वर्त्तते । वी गतिप्रजनकान्त्यसनखादनेषु इत्यस्य धातोः प्रजने वर्त्तमानस्य णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

55. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root वी in the causative, when meaning 'to conceive an embryo'.

The root वी Adādi 39 means 'to go, to conceive, to shine, to eat, and to desire'. The substitution takes place when it means 'to impregnate or conceive'. Thus पुरो वानो गाः प्रवापयति or प्रवाययति = गर्भं माह्वयति ॥ The word प्रजन means the receiving of the embryo which in course of time will lead to the birth of a child.

विभेतेर्हेतुभये ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभेतेः, हेतु भये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णामिन् वर्त्तते विभाषेति च । हेतुर्हि पारिभाषिकः स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजकस्ततो यद्भवत्, स यस्य भयस्य साक्षाद्धेतुः, तद्भयं हेतुभयम् । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य भिभी भयइत्यस्य धातोर्णां परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

56. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root भी 'to fear', in the Causative, when the fear is produced directly through the agent of the causative.

The words णौ and विभाषा are understood here. The word हेतु in the sūtra is the technical हेतु meaning स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजक (I. 4. 54 and 55.). When the

Hetu Agent himself is directly the cause of the fear, that fear is called the हेतुभय "the fear caused by the Hetu". Thus घृण्डो भाषयते (VII. 3. 36) or भीषयते (VII. 3. 40). So also जदिलो भाषयते or भीषयते ॥ This root takes the affixes of the Atmanepada, by I. 3. 68; and the augment ष is added by VII. 3. 40, which does not come when there is आ substitution, for the भी in VII. 3. 40 is equal to भी + ई i. e. भी ending in ई; and means भी ending in ई takes the augment ष ॥

Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is the producer of the fear'? Observe कुञ्चिकयैर्न भाषयति देवदत्तः ॥ Here the fear is produced from the कुञ्चिका and not from Devadatta the Agent.

नित्यं स्मयतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, स्मयतेः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ गार्वति वृत्ते, हेतुभयति च । नित्यग्रहणादिभाषेति निवृत्तम् । स्मिद् ईषद्वसनइत्यस्य धातोर्हेतु-भयैर्नौ परतो नित्यमाक्रोदेशो भवति ॥

57. There is invariably the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root स्मि 'to smile' in the Causative, when the astonishment is produced directly through the Agent of the Causative.

The words जौ and हेतुभय are both understood here. The word नित्य shows that the anuvritti of विभाषा ceases. Thus घृण्डोजदिलो वा विस्माययते ॥ Otherwise we have कुञ्चिकयैर्न विस्माययति ॥ The word भय here is taken to mean स्मयति i. e. 'wondering, feeling astonished'. See I. 3. 68 where also this meaning has been extended to भय by its connection with भीस्मि together; the proper word ought to have been हेतुस्मये in connection with स्मि, and हेतुभये in connection with भी ॥

सृजिदृशोर्ज्ञेयमकिति ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृजि, दृशोः, ज्ञालि, अम्, अकिति ॥

वृत्ति ॥ सृज् विसर्गे, दृशिर् प्रेक्षणे, इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वाद्ज्ञालादावाकिति प्रत्यये परतो ऽभाग्नौ भवति ॥

58. The augment अम् (अ) comes after the ऋ of सृज् 'to create', and दृश् 'to see', when an affix beginning with a झल् letter (the Mute and the Sibilant) follows: provided that it has no indicatry क् ॥

Thus सृज् + तृन् = सृ + अ + तृ = सृद् nom. sing. सृष्टा, so also सृष्टुम्, सृष्टव्यम्, ब्रूया, ब्रूयुम्, ब्रूय्यम् ॥ This अम् augment prevents the guṇa substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in अस्मासीत् and अद्वासीत् the Vṛiddhi takes place in the Aorist, after the augment अम् had taken effect.

Why do we say when beginning with a Mute or a Sibilant? Observe सर्ज्जनम्, दर्शनम् with यु ॥ Why do we say not having an indicatory क्? Observe सृष्टः, दृष्टः before the affix क् ॥ The forms of roots being exhibited in the sūtra, the rule applies when affixes relating to verbs come after these, and not when other affixes relating to noun follow. Thus रज्जुसङ्ख्याम्, देवदग्ध्याम् ॥ Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे वृत्त्यस्यै कार्ये applies here.

अनुदात्तस्य चर्तुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, ऋत्, उ
पधस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेश इति वृत्ते, ह्यन्यमकिति च । उपदेशोऽनुदात्तस्य धातोर्ङकारोपधस्य ह्यल्लोपधस्य प्रत्यये
परतोऽन्यतरस्याममागमो भवति ॥

59. The augment अम् comes optionally after the ऋ of those roots which are exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as anudâṭṭa, when such roots end in a consonant having a ऋ as penultimate, and are followed by an affix beginning with a mute or sibilant and not having an indicatory क ॥

The word उपद्म is understood here, so also ह्यन्यमकिति ॥ Thus वप्ता or तर्पिता or तप्ता, द्रप्ता, र्पिता or दप्ता ॥ The roots हृष 'to satisfy', and हृष् 'to be happy to release', belong to Divâdi class, sub-class Radhâdi, and they take the augment इद् optionally (VII, 2. 45), so we have the three forms given above: for these roots are also anudâṭṭa in their first enunciation.

Why do we say "which are anudâṭṭa in the Upadesâ or the system of grammatical instruction"? Observe वर्ता, वर्तुम्, वदव्यम्, from वह उद्यमन् which is exhibited as उदात्त, and because it has an indicatory ऊ it takes इद् optionally. Why do we say 'having a penultimate क् letter'? Observe भेत्ता, छत्ता ॥ Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a mute or a sibilant'? Observe तर्पणम्, र्वर्पणम् ॥ Why do we say 'not having an indicatory क्'? Observe वृत्तः, ह्रस्वः ॥ Before affixes not beginning with a ह्रस्व consonant this augment will not be inserted, as तर्पणम्, र्वर्पणम् ॥

शीर्षश्छन्दसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शीर्षन्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति शब्दान्तरं शिरःशब्देन समानार्थं छन्दसि विषये निपात्यते ॥

60. The word शीर्षन् is found in the Chhandas.

This word is another form of शिरः and means 'head'. This is not a substitute of शिर in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus शीर्ष्णो हि तत्र सोमं क्रीतं हरन्ति, यत्ते शीर्ष्णो वैर्भाग्यम् ॥ In the secular literature there is only one form शिरः ॥

ये च तद्धिते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति वृत्ते । आदेशोयमित्यते स कथं तद्धित इति हि परं निमित्तमुपासीयते स तदनुकृपां प्रकृतिं शिरःशब्दमाक्षिपति । यकारादौ तद्धिते परतः शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षनादेशो भवात् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वा केशेषु ॥

61. There is the substitution of this stem शीर्षन् for शिरस् when a Taddhita-affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षन् is understood here. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि मुख्यो भवति,

शीर्षण्यः स्वरः ॥ The affix **यन्** is here added by IV. 3. 55. The word **शीर्षण्** retains its original form before this affix **यन्**, the final **अन्** not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168). Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe **शिर इच्छति** = **शिरस्त्विति**, here **य** is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vart :—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As **शीर्षण्यः केशाः** or **शिरस्याः केशाः** ॥

अचि शीर्षः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, शीर्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजासौ तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

62. There is the substitution of **शीर्ष** for **शिरस्** when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus **हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं** = **हस्तिशीर्षः** formed by adding the Patronymic affix **इप्** (IV. 1. 96). So also **स्थूलशिरस इदम्** = **स्थूलशीर्षम्** ॥ Had the word been **शीर्षन्** (instead of **शीर्ष** as taught herein) then it would have retained its final **न्** before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168). Again in forming the feminine of **हस्तिशीर्षः** by adding **व्यङ्** (IV. 1. 78), arises this difficulty :—**व्यङ्** (**य**) is a Taddhita affix beginning with **य**, when this is applied to **हस्तिशीर्षः**, we must apply the last rule and change the **शीर्ष** into **शीर्षन्** (for **शीर्षन्** being the substitute of **शिरस्** is *prima facie* a substitute of **शीर्ष** also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61). The form which we get will be this, **हस्ति-शीर्षः + व्यङ्** = **हस्तिशीर्षण् + य** (VI. 1. 61) = **हस्तिशीर्षण्या** (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is **हस्तिशीर्ष्या** ॥ How do we explain this? Thus **हस्तिशीर्ष + व्यङ्** = **हस्तिशीर्ष + य** (the **इ** is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of **इ** we substitute a *zero* or **लोपादेशः**) ॥ Now this *ādeṣa* becomes *sthānavat* to **इ**, thus the affix **य** not being *directly* applied to **शीर्ष**, because this *zero* intervenes, **शीर्ष** is not replaced by **शीर्षन्** as required by VI. 1. 61, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with **य** but by a *zero* *sthānavat* to **इप्** affix.

This *sūtra* is not of Pāṇini, but is really a *Vārtika* raised to the rank of a *sūtra* by later authors.

पद्मोमास् इति शसन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्चकन्नुद्वासञ्चस्प्रभृतिषु ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, दत्, नस्, मास्, हत्, निष्, असत्, यूषत्, दोषत्, यकन्, शकन्, उदत्, आसत्, शस्, प्रभृतिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद् वन्त नासिका मास इत्य निशा असृज यूष रोष यकृन् शकृन् उरृक आसन इत्येतेषां शब्दानां स्थानं शस्प्रभृतिप्रत्ययेषु परतः पद् दत् नस् मास् हत् निश असत् यूषन् रोषन् यकृन् शकृन् उदत् आसन् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

वा० ॥ पद्मशिशु मांस्त्वृत्तनाडपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ नस् नासिकाया यन्तस्युद्देशे ॥

वा० ॥ यति वर्णनगरयानेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

63. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are substituted :—पद् for पाद, दन् for दन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मांस, हृद् for हृदय, निश for निशा, असन् for असृज्, यूषन् for यूष, दोषन् for दोस्, यकन् for यकृत्, शकन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन, the Sidhanta Kaumudi gives the original as आस्य which has been adopted in the above. Some say that these substitutions take place in the Vedic Literature only, others say, they are general. Others read the word 'optionally' into this sūtra from VI. 1. 59 and hold that these substitutes are optional and not compulsory.

Examples :—1. पद्—निपश्यतुरो जहि, पशवन्तं गोदुहम् ॥ 2 दन्—या इती धावति तस्ये ऋषावदन् ॥ 3 नस्—सूकरस्त्वयनत्रसा ॥ 4 मास्—मांसित्वा पश्यामि चक्षुषा ॥ 5 हृद्—हृदा पूतेन मनसा जातं वेदसम् । 6 निश—अमावास्यायां निशि यजेत ॥ 7 असन्—असित्को स्नावरोहति ॥ 8 यूषन्—या पात्राणि यूष्ण अस्तिचनानि ॥ 9 दोषन्—यत्तं दोष्णां दोर्भाग्यम् ॥ 10 यकन्—यक्को वयति ॥ 11 शकन् शक्को वयति ॥ 12 उदन्—उद्गो द्विष्यस्य नाश ते ॥ 13 आसन्—आसनि किं लभे मयिनि ।

Why do we say when the weak terminations ङस् &c follow? Observe पादौ ते प्रतिपीडयौ नासकं ते कृश ॥ As examples of this substitutions in the secular literature also, the following may be given :—

व्यायामक्षुण्ण गात्रस्य पङ्कगामुद्धर्तितस्य च ।

व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वेनतेयमिवोरगाः ॥

These substitutions take place before other affixes also : as, शला दोषणी, ककुहोषणी याचते महादेवः ॥

Vārt :—The following substitutions also take place : मांस for मांस, पन् for पतना, and स्तु for सानुः as यन्नीक्षणं मांसपचन्याः for मांसपचन्याः (Yaj. XXV. 36), पृष्ठ मर्त्यम् for पृतनासुमर्त्यम्, न ते दिवो न पृथिव्या अधिस्तुषु for अधिसानुषु ॥

Vārt :—The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यन् and तस्. and the word क्षुद्र follow : as, नस्यम्, नस्तः, नस् क्षुद्रः ॥ The यन् is taught in IV. 3. 55 and V. 1. 6 ; तस् is taught in V. 4. 45.

Vārt :—The substitution of नस् for नासिका before the affix यन् does not take place when it refers to 'letters', or 'cities' as : नासिङ्ग्यो वर्णः 'a nasal letter' नासिङ्ग्यं नगरम् ॥

धात्वादेः षः सः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धात्वादेः, षः, सः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरारहेः षकारस्य स्थाने सकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मुष्णानुष्ठिबुष्कतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

64. There is the substitution of स in the room of ष being the initial of a verbal root as enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha.

The roots exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ष, change it for स ॥ Thus षह—सहति, षिञ्—सिञ्चति ॥ Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe

षोडश, षडिकः, षण्डः ॥ Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कषति, कृषति ॥ Why have then roots been exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ष, when for all practical purposes this ष is to be replaced by स, would it not have been easier to spell at once these words with a स? This appears cumbersome no doubt, but the spelling of the roots with ष is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their स into ष when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter स for ष have been at once taught with an initial ष, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their स is changed to ष ॥ Thus from सिव—instead of सिसव we have सिसव ॥ Thus root is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with a ष, and thus we know that the स must be changed to ष ॥ Otherwise a list of such roots would have to be separately given. One must refer to the Dhâtupâṭha for a list of such roots. As a general rule, however, all roots beginning with a स and followed by a vowel or a dental letter have been taught in the Dhâtupâṭha as beginning with an initial ष, as well as the following roots स्वि, स्वद्, स्विद्, स्विञ्ज and स्वप्, though followed by व् or ङ् ॥ The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. सुष्, सुञ्, स्त, स्त्या, सेक, and सृ ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of छिच् and व्यष्क् ॥ Thus षोडीयते, षण्डायते are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so छिच्—छिषति, व्यष्क्—व्यष्कते ॥ The word छिष contains in it two roots छिच् and वियच्, one with ड, another with थ, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—तेष्ठीव्यते, टेष्ठीव्यते ॥ The substitution of स for ष takes place in the case of the root that has थ ॥

णो नः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, नः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेशित्यनुवर्त्तते । धातोरादेशकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

65. There is the substitution of न् for the initial ण् of the root in the Dhâtupâṭha.

The phrase धावोऽङ् is understood here. Thus णीञ्—नयति, णम—नमति, णह—नहति ॥ But not अण्—अणति ॥ This does not apply to roots derived from nouns. णकारमिच्छति=णकारीयात् ॥ The roots are exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with ण् for a similar reason as they are exhibited with ष ॥ By VIII. 4. 14, these roots change their न into ण when preceded by certain prepositions. All roots beginning with a ण should be understood to have been so taught, with the exception of the following:—नृ, नन्दि नर्हि, नक्क, नादि, नाथ् and नाय् ॥

लोपोऽर्थोऽत्र लि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, व्योः, वलि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोऽपि प्रकृतं यन् तदधात्वादेशिते पुनर्द्धातुप्रदणानिवृत्तम् । तेन धातोर्धातोश्च वकारयकारयोर्बलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

66. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and थ् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

The final व् or वृ of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a वल् consonant i. e. any consonant except व् ॥ Thus दिव् + वल् (III. 2. 107) = दिव् + दिव् + वल् = दिदिवल् nom. singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवान्सौ, दिदिवान्सः ॥ Thus ऊय् + त = ऊतं, 'spun', कृय् + त = कृतं 'made a noise'. So also the affix इक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix इक्, इ is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गोधा + एय् + र = गौधेरः (the व् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन्, यजेरन् the व् of लिङ् (III. 4. 102) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105). So also व is elided in the following:—from जीव्—जीरवानुः (by Uṇādi affix जीधे रवानुक्) from सिव्—अक्षमाणम् formed by the Uṇādi affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Uṇādi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not ऊट् substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except व्?" Observe ऊय्यते, कृय्यते when व् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and वृ should take place prior to the elision of the aprikta व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय + विवृ = कण्डू वृ (VI. 4. 48) = कण्डू + वृ = कण्डूः ॥ So लोलूय + विवृ = लोलूः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasāraṇa. and वव्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by इलादिशेषः are Bahiranga.

वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, अपृक्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वृत्तते । वेरिति विवृबादयो विशेषाननुबन्धानुत्सृज्यसामान्येन गृह्यन्ते । वेरपृक्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

67. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

The affix वि includes विवृ, विवृन्, विवृ &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikta (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, धूणहा (III. 2. 87). Here the affix विवृ is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58). Here the affix विवृन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक् पादभाक्, तुरीयभाक् (III. 2. 62). Here the affix विवृ is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprikta—an affix consisting of a single letter"? Observe रविः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जामृदिः formed विवृन्, see Uṇādi Sūtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prātipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by

I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्वि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

हृङ्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात्सुनित्स्यपृक्तं हल् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्, उच्चापभ्यः, दीर्घात्, सु, ति, सि, अपृक्तम्, हल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते । तदिह लौकिकेनार्थेनार्थवत् कर्मसाधनं द्रष्टव्यम् । लुप्यतइति लोपः । हलन्तान् ङ्यन्तादाबन्ताच्च दीर्घात्परं सु ति सि इत्येतत्पृक्तं हल् लुप्यते ॥

Kārikā :—संयोगान्तस्य लोपे हि नलोपादिर्न सिद्धयति । राचु तेनैव लोपः स्याद्वलस्तस्माद्विधीयते ॥

68. After a consonant there is the elision of the nominative-affix स् and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sūtra translated literally means:—After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्तं हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after a consonant and hence we have translated it as above. As examples of the elision of सु after a consonant:—राजन् + स् = राजन् (VI. 4. 8) + ० = राजा, तक्षा, उखासन्, पर्णध्वन् ॥ After a डी:—as, कुमारी, गौरी, शार्ङ्गवी ॥ After आप्:—खट्वा, बहुराजा, कारी षगन्त्या ॥ The elision of ति and सि takes place only after consonants:—as, अबिभर्भवान् (भृ + लङ् + तिप् = भ + भृ + लु + त् = भ + भृ + भृ + त् (VI. 1. 10) = भ + भर् + भृ + त् (VII. 4: 66 and I. 1. 51) = भ + भ + भृ + त् (VII. 4. 60) = भ + भ + भृ + त् (VIII. 4. 54) = भ + बि + भृ + त् (VII. 4. 76) = भ + बि + भर् + त् (VII. 3. 84) = अबिभर् + त् = अबिभर् ॥ So also अजागर्भवान् ॥ In both these cases त् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following:—अभिनोऽब्र, अचिन्नोऽब्र ॥ (भिद् + लङ् + सिप् ॥ The इ is changed into र् by VIII. 2. 75 and स् is elided by this rule).

Why do we say “after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ”? Observe ग्रामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say “after a long vowelled feminine affix”? Observe निष्कौशाब्धिः, अर्तखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say “when followed by सु, ति and सि”? Observe अभि-स्तीन् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say ‘when reduced to a single letter’? Observe भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति ॥ Why do we say ‘the consonant is elided’? Observe बिभेद्, चिच्छेद् ॥ Here the apikta affix अ of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why has the elision of **स्** (**सु**), **त्** (**तप्**) and **श्** (**सिप्**) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms **राजा**, **तथा** could not be evolved. As **राजन् + स् = राजान् + स्** (VI. 4. 8) = **राजान्स्** and by eliding **स्** by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become **राजान्**, and the final **न्** could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Books), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of **न्**, does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of **स्**) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also in the case of **उत्थासन्** and **पर्णधन् ॥ उत्था + सन् + विप्** III. 2. 76 = **उत्था + सन्** (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add **सु**, we have **उत्थासन् + स् = उत्थासन्स्**; elide the final **स्** not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have **उत्थासन्**, here we cannot change the **स्** into **द्** by VIII. 2. 72 for **स्** is not *final* in a *pada*, for Rule VIII. 2. 23 is considered as not to have taken effect. So also in the case of **अभिनोऽञ्** ॥ The word **अभिनः** is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of **भिद्** of Rudhâdi class. Thus **भिद् + लङ् + सिप् = भ + भिद् + इनम् + स् = भ + भिनद् + स् = अभिनर् + स्** (**द्** changed to **र्** by VIII. 2. 75) = **अभिनर्स्** ॥ If we elide the final **स्** of the conjoint by VIII. 2. 23, then in **अभिनर् + अञ्**, the **र्** would not be changed into **ङ** to form **अभिनोऽञ्** by VI. 1. 113 since the elision of **स्** is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in **अविभर् भवान्**, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for **संयोगान्तलोप** rule is restricted by **रात्सस्य** (VIII. 2. 24), i. e. **स्** only and no other consonant is elided after **र्**, therefore there will be no elision of **त्** in **अविभर्त्** by VIII. 2. 23.

पङ्कह्रस्वात्सुबुद्धेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पङ्, ह्रस्वात्, सम्बुद्धेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते, हलिति च । अपृक्तामति न धिक्रियते । तथा च पूर्वसूत्रे पुनरपृक्तमहणं कृतम् । पङ्कन्तात्मातिपदिकाद् ह्रस्वान्ताच्च परो हल्लुप्यतसंचेस्संबुद्धेर्भवति ॥

69. The consonant of the nominative-affix (**सु** and its substitute **अम्**) is elided in the Vocative singular after a nominal-stem ending in **ए** or **ओ** or a short vowel.

The word **लोप** is understood here also; as well as **हल्** ॥ The word **अपृक्त** however is not to be read here, as its repetition in VI. 1. 68 (though its anuvritti was there from the preceding sūtra) indicates. The affix of Vocative is the same as that of the nominative. By VII. 3. 108, the short vowel of the stem is replaced by a guṇa vowel when the Vocative Singular affix follows. Thus we have **अग्ने** and **वायो** for **अग्नि** and **वायु**; and by VII. 3. 107, a short vowel is substituted for the long vowel **ई** and **ऊ** of the feminine: as **नदि** and **वधु** for **नदी** and **वधू** ॥ Now applying the present sūtra, the affix **स्** is elided after

all the above words. As हे अग्ने !, हे वायो !, हे देवदत्त !, हे नदि !, हे वधु ! The Vocative Singular of कुण्ड a Neuter noun is thus formed. By VII. 1. 24, अम् replaces इ of the nominative, the अ of अम् and the final अ of कुण्ड coalesce into one अ by VI. 1. 107, which becomes कुण्डम् ॥ Here by the rule that 'consonant' only is to be elided, we elide म् only (and not अ which becomes a part of the word by VI. 1. 85, for it is considered both as the final of the word and the initial of the affix). Now म् is not an अप्रत्यय हल् for it is part of the affix अम्, and its elision would not have taken place had we read the anuvritti of अप्रिक्ता into this sūtra. Thus we have हे कुण्ड ! ॥ But in हे कतरन् ! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अन्, the substitute of सु for the affix there is अद् (VII. 1. 25). This affix being डित् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कतर + अन्, here we have not a prātipadikā which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word एङ् is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे अग्नि + सु, the affix is not elided first and then guṇa substituted for इ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided,

शेदछन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतस्य बहुलं छन्दसि विषये लोपा भवति ॥

70. In the Chhandas, the elision of the case-ending इ (शि) of the nominative and accusative plural neuter, is optional,

Thus या क्षेत्रा or यानि क्षेत्राणि, या वना or यानि वनानि ॥

ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, पिति, कृति, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिति कृति परतो ह्रस्वस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

71. To a root ending in a short vowel is added the augment त् (तुक्) when a Kṛit-affix having an indicatory ए follows,

Thus अग्नि + चि + विप्र = आग्निचित्, so also सोमसुत् ॥ Similarly प्रकृत्य and मद्यत् and उपस्तुत्य formed by the affix ल्यप् ॥ Why do we say "ending in a short vowel"? Observe आलूय, मामणीः ॥ Why do we say "having an indicatory ए"? Observe कृतम्, हतम् ॥ Why do we say "a kṛit affix"? Observe पदुतरः, पदुतमः, with the Taddhita-affixes तरप् and तमप् ॥ In the compound ग्रामाणिकुलम्, though the root is made short, yet there is no augment तुक्, in as much as the rule by which the root has been shortened is a Bāhiranga rule, and the present rule is an Antaranga one. The maxim is असिद्धं बाहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥ "That which is Bāhiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is Antaranga is to take effect",

संहितायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयमनुवाचं पदमेकवर्जमिति यावत् । प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तर यद्वक्ष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं सहेदितव्यम् ॥

72. In the following sūtras upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech', should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. What ever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice. Thus इध्वन्, मध्वन् the इ and उ are changed to द्ध and व् when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have इधि अन्, मधु अन् ॥

छे च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह्रस्वस्य तुगिति वर्त्तते । छकारे परतः संहितायां विषये इह्रस्वस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

73. The augment त् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

Thus इच्छति, गच्छति ॥ The त् is changed to च् by VIII. 4. 40. The short vowel itself is the आगमी (the thing to which the augment is added), and not the word ending in that short vowel. Therefore in चिच्छिदुः, चिच्छिदुः, the augment is not to be considered as part of the Reduplicate चि, but of the short इ only ; and therefore it is not elided by ह्लादिः शेष (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim नावयवावयवोः सङ्गुहायावयवो भवति "the part of a part cannot be considered as a part of the whole". Here त् is a part of the abhyāsa syllable चि which is itself a part of the verbal base, therefore त् is not considered as an abhyāsa: or because त् being an augment of इ is considered as part of इ and not of चि of which इ is the part.

आङ्माङ्गोश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, माङ्गोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुगित्यनुवर्तते. छाति च । आङ्गो ङित ईषशादिषु चतुर्ष्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानस्य माङ्गश्च प्रतिषेधवचनस्य छकारे परतस्तुगागमो भवति ॥

74. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

The Particle आ has the four senses of 1. littleness (ईषदर्थः) 2. with verbs, as a prefix (क्रियायोगः) 3. the limit inceptive (अविधि) and 4. the limit exclusive (मर्बादा). This sūtra ordains तुक् necessarily, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus ईरच्छाया = आच्छाया; 2. With verbs:—as आच्छादयात्, 3 and 4. आच्छायायाः, आच्छायम् ॥ So also the negative particle मा, as, माच्छेत्सीन्, माच्छेत् ॥ The इ in आङ्

and माङ् shows that आ when used as a Gati and a Karmappravachaniya and न् when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the न् is not necessary in the following :—आछाया मानयति, प्रमाच्छन्दः॥ The तुक् may be optionally added in these as आच्छाया and प्रमाच्छन्दः॥ The आ here has the force of recollection (स्मरण); आछाया “Oh the shade”. The word प्रमा is formed from the verbal root माङ् by the prefix प्र and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) with the feminine affix टाप्, and the word ending in टाप् has not the indicatory इ ॥

दीर्घात् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ छे तुगिति वृत्ते । दीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

75. The augment त् is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

Thus झीच्छति, म्लेच्छति, अपचाच्छायते, विचाच्छायते ॥ The augment belongs to the long vowel and not to the whole syllable ending in that long vowel.

पदान्ताद्वा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तात्, वा, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ दीर्घाच्छेत्तुगिति वृत्ते । पदान्तादीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य पूर्वेण नित्यं प्राप्नोति वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ विश्वजनादीनां छन्दसिवा तुगागमो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

76. The augment त् is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

This allows option where by the last it would have been compulsory to add it. The augment is of the long vowel, and not of the word ending in long vowel. Thus कूदीच्छाया or कूदीछाया, कूबलीच्छाया or कूबलीछाया ॥ The तुक् augment here is added to the end of a pada, and this is therefore a padānta rule and not a pada-vidhi. Therefore the two words need not be in construction for the application of this rule; (समर्थ पदविधि) not applying. Thus तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छन्नं हर देवदत्तस्य, “let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta”. Here कुमारी and छन्नं are not in construction, but तुक् is still added optionally.

Vārt :—The augment त् is optional in the Chhandas, after the words विश्वजन &c. As, विश्वजनच्छन्नम् or विश्वजनछन्नम्, नच्छायां कुरवोपराम् or नछायां कुरवोपराम् ॥

इको यणचि ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, यण्, अचि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अचि परत इको यणादेशो भवति ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घबाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

77. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल् are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ, and ॠ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. I. 101, namely the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding for

the application of this rule. Thus इधि + अत्र = इध्यत्र, मधु + भव = मध्यव, कर्तु + अर्थम् = कर्त्रर्थम्, हर्तु + अर्थम् = हर्त्रर्थम्, लृ आकृति = लाकृतिः ॥

Vart:—This semivowel substitution of vowels takes place, when preceded by a prolated vowel, even to the supersession of VI. 1. 101 requiring lengthening. Thus अग्न ३ इ इन्द्र = अग्न ३ विन्द्रम्, पदा ३ उ उक्कम् = पदा ३ बुक्कम्, अग्न ३ इ आशा = अग्न ३ वाशा, पदा ३ उ आशा = पदा ३ वाशा ॥ ओ ३ इ इन्द्रम् = ओ ३ विन्द्रम् ॥ The phrase 'when a vowel follows' exerts its influence upto VI. 1. 108.

एचो ऽयवायावः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, अय् - अव् - आय्-आवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचः स्थाने ऽचि परतो ऽय् अव् आय् आव् इत्येते आदेशा यथास्तख्यं भवन्ति ॥

78. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय्, आय्, अव् and आव् when a vowel follows.

Thus चि + स्युद् = चे + अन = चयनम्, लो + अन = लवनं; चै + अक = चायकः, लौ + भक = लायकः ॥ So also कथेते, व्यथेते, याववरुणदि, रु + शुच (III. 2. 148) = रो + अन = रवनः ॥

वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वान्तः, यि, प्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमेचः स्थाने वान्तादेश ओकारस्य अच् औकारस्याच् स यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गार्हपत्ये छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च ॥

79. The substitution of अव् and आव् for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in इ viz. अव् and आव् ॥ Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in इ (viz. अव् and आव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ ॥ Thus बहु + यम् = बाभो + य = बाभयः (VI. 4. 146 and IV. 1. 105). So also माण्डव्यः, शकव्यंशरः, पिचव्यः कार्पासः, नाव्यो (IV. 4. 91) इवः ॥ Why do we say "अव् and आव्"? Observe रायमिच्छति = रैयाति, no change of ऐ before य ॥ Why do we say "before य"? Observe गोभ्याम्, नौभ्याम् ॥ Why do we say "an affix"? Observe गोयानम्, नौयानम् ॥

Vart:—The word गो is changed before श्रुति in the Vedas. As गो + श्रुति = गश्रुति, as आनो मित्रा वरुणा धृतेर्गव्युतिषुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयुतिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place when referring to the measure of a road:—as, गः श्रुति मात्रमभ्यां गतः ॥ This is in the secular literature, गश्रुति means a road ॥

धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, तन्निमित्तस्य, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एच इति वृत्ते । वान्तो यि प्रत्ययइति च । धातोर्य एच् तन्निमित्तो यकारादिप्रत्ययनिमित्तस्तस्य यकारादेश प्रत्यये परतो वान्तादेशो भवति ॥

80. For the final diphthongs ओ and औ of a root, are substituted अव् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एचः, वान्तोयि प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word सन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with च ॥ Thus लृ forms its Future Passive Participle by यत् (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: Thus लृ + च = लो + च, which according to the present sūtra becomes लव्यम् ॥ So also पू—पो + च = पव्यम् ॥ लृ + यत् (III. 1. 125) = लो + च = अवद्य लाव्यम् and अवद्य पाव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'of a root'? This rule should not apply to a nominal stem. For then, though it may be all right in the case of बहु + च = बाधो + च = बाध्व्यः; it will not apply to cases like गो + च = गव्य, नौ + च = नाव्य, where गो and नौ are not *caused* by the affix, but are integral parts of the stem before the affixes were added. Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga आ is आ + वे + यक् + ते = Here by Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15), वे becomes उ, as आ + उ + च + ते; now by sandhi आ + उ = ओ VI. 1. 87), we have ओ + चते = ओचते ॥ Since ओ is not caused by च, there is no अच् substitution. So also ओचत, लौचमानिः, पौचमानिः (IV. 1. 95). The word एच in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, ओ and औ before च are changed then only to अच् and आच् when च has caused the production of ओ and औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the च has caused the production of ओ and औ or not.

क्षय्यज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षय्य - ज्यौ, शक्य - अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षि जि इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोर्ध्वति प्रत्यये परतः शक्यार्थे गम्यमाने एकारस्यायादेशो निपात्यते ॥

81. In क्षय्य and ज्य there is substitution of अच् for ए only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix यत् (III. 1. 97) assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षेतुं = क्षय्यः (क्षि + च = क्षे + च); so also ज्यः ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षयं पापं, ज्यो वृषलः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रय्यः, तदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीणान्तेर्द्धातोस्तदर्थे कयार्थं यत्तस्मिन्नभिधेये यति प्रत्यये परतो ऽयादेशो निपात्यते ॥

82. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अच् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्; the guṇa ए being changed to च ॥ The word तदर्थ means 'for the purpose of that'

i. e., for the purpose of being bought. As कय्या गोः, कय्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe कयं नो धान्यं न चास्ति कय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

भय्यप्रवय्ये च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भय्य - प्रवय्ये, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेतेर्धातोः प्रपूर्वस्य च श्री इत्येतस्य यति प्रत्यये परतच्छन्दसि विषये ऽयादेशो निपात्यते ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ह्रस्व्या आप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

83. The forms भय्य and प्रवय्या are found in the Chhandas.

The word भय्य is derived from भी + यत्, and प्रवय्या from प्र + वी + यत् ॥ The guṇa ए is changed to अय् ॥ Thus भय्यं क्लिप्सीत् ॥ वस्ततरी प्रवय्या ॥ The यत् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कृत्यलुटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus बिभेति अस्माद् = भय्यम् "frightening or fearable". The word प्रवय्या is always used in the feminine: in other places प्रवेद्य is the proper form. Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe भेयम्, प्रवेद्यम् in secular literature.

Vart.—The word ह्रस्व्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As ह्रदे भवा = ह्रस्व्या आपः ॥ The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 110 (ह्रदे + य = ह्रव्य + य) ॥

एकः पूर्वपरयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकः, पूर्व - परयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आधिकारोऽयम् । ख्यत्यात्परस्येति प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वस्य परस्य द्वयोरपि स्थाने एकादेशो भवतीत्येतद्वदितव्यम् ॥

84. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. In every sūtra upto VI. 1. 112 (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekādesa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c. Thus VI. 1. 87 teaches 'There is guṇa substitution, when अ or आ is followed by a vowel'. We must supply into that sūtra the phrase एकः पूर्वपरयोः i. e. one guṇa is the substitute for the final अ or आ and the initial vowel. Thus खद्वा + इन्द्रः = खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Here ए is the single substitute of the both preceding letter आ and the succeeding letter इ ॥ The words पूर्व पर show that the substitute operates simultaneously on both. Otherwise the substitute would have come in the place of *one* only or of each one separately. Thus in आद् गुणः (अचि) = "after अ or आ, there is guṇa, in a vowel". Here आत् is in the ablative, and by I. 1. 67 the guṇa operation would have taken place on the letter *following* it: so also अचि is in the Locative and by I. 1. 66, the

guṇa operation would have taken place on the *preceding* ; so it is not clear of what letter there should be guṇa substitution, of the preceding or the succeeding. But the present rule shows it must operate on both simultaneously. The word एक 'single', shows that a separate or a different substitute does not operate: i. e. the substitute must be one, there should not be two separate substitutes one for each sthānī, such as we find in the sūtra VIII. 2. 42 (स्वाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः, पूर्वस्य च इः, "न is the substitute of the त of nishṭhā, after र् and इ, and of the preceding इ"). Here न् is taught as substitute both of त् and इ, and as एक is not used in the sūtra, we get *two* न, as भिद् + त = भिन् + न = भिन्नः ॥ But this is not the case here. According to Mahabhāṣya the word एक is redundant.

अन्तादिवच्च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त - आदि - चत् , च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक इति वर्त्तते पूर्वपरयोर्निति च । एकः पूर्वपरयोर्निति योयमेकारदेशो विधीयते स पूर्वस्यान्तवद्भवति, परस्यादिवद्भवति ॥

85. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in the last, is considered in the light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An ādeśa is like the sthānī, but in an ekādeśa, the sthānī is indeterminate, or rather the sthānī is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sūtra. The sense of this atideśa sūtra is this: as the beginning and the end of a thing are both *included* in the thing itself, and therefore when the thing is mentioned, the beginning and the end are both taken; so is the case with this single substitute. Thus to the stem ब्रह्मबन्धु we add ऊ the feminine affix (IV. 1. 66); and now उ + ऊ = ऊ (VI. 1. 101) i. e. ब्रह्मबन्धु + ऊ = ब्रह्मबन्धू ॥ Here ब्रह्मबन्धु is a Nominal-stem (प्रातिपदिक) and the affix ऊ is a non-prātipadika, and the single-substitute ऊ is considered as the final of the prātipadika. So that we can apply to the form ब्रह्मबन्धू the term prātipadika and by virtue of this designation we can add the case-endings to it by IV. 1. 1. But for this rule, we could not have added the case-endings to it, because by virtue of the feminine affix ऊ the word would have rather ceased to be a prātipadika (I. 1. 46), because this feminine affix ऊ is not included in IV. 1. 1. Similarly for the final non-case-ending भ् of वृक्ष and the case-ending औ, there comes a single substitute औ by VI. 1. 88, this ekādeśa औ is considered both as a non-case affix and a case affix, that is, as the initial of the affix औ, and the final of वृक्ष and thus the word वृक्षौ gets the designation of Pada I. 4. 14 as it ends in the सुप् affix औ ॥

This अन्तादिवद्भाव does not apply in rules relating to letters i. e. to rules depending for their application on letters. Thus खद्ग + भा = खद्गा ॥ Here the

ekādeśa आ is as the final अ of खद्वा, but not for the purposes of the application of the rule which says that the भिस् is changed to ऐस् after a nominal-stem ending in अ, so the Instrumental plural of खद्वा will not end in ऐः, but will be खद्वाभिः ॥ So also in जुहाव ॥ It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of ह्वि or ह्वा (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the व् is changed to उ, and we have जुह्वआ = जुहुवआ which by VI. 1. 108 becomes जुहु, the उ being the single substitute of उ and आ ॥ This single-substitute उ should not be considered as आ for the application of the rule VII. 1. 34 by which the Perfect affix जल् (अ) is changed in ओ after roots ending in आ ॥ Similarly in अस्त्रे + अभ्यः = अस्या अभ्यः (the स् being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अस्त्रे is the Dative singular of इवम् in the Feminine with आ ॥ By VII. 3. 114 स्या is added in the Dative with the shortening of the preceding आ ; as अ + स्या + ए = अस्त्रे ॥ Here ऐ is the single substitute for आ and ए ॥ Here for the application of VI. 1. 109 the single substitute ऐ should not be considered like ए ॥ The sthāni of the single-substitute (ekādeśa) is the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding, both taken collectively is replaced by *one*, and not any one of them separately. For that which is replaced by another is called sthāni: as when भू replaces अस् the whole form अस् is called sthāni, and not अ or स् separately. The parts, may be called sthāni only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthāni, the rule of sthānivād bhāva will not apply to an ekādeśa with regards to the parts, and no operations dependant on such parts will be effected by such ekādeśa. But it is intended that such operations should take place. Hence this sūtra.

षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षत्व - तुकोः, असिद्धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षत्वे तुकि च कर्तव्ये एकादेशो ऽसिद्धो भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोतीत्यर्थः ।
षान्तिकम् ॥ संप्रसारणङीदृशु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The substitution of a single ādeśa is to be considered as to have not taken effect, when otherwise स would have to be changed to ष, or when the augment क (तुक्) is to be added.

The word असिद्ध means not-accomplished i. e. the operation caused by its having taken effect is not produced. The word asiddha always debars operations dependent upon the ādeśa, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (असिद्धवचनमात्रेणलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थमुत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥) Thus क्वाऽसिचत् here स is not changed to ष ॥ The equation is thus exhibited : कस् + असिचत् = कर् + असिचत् (the स changed to र by VIII. 2.66) = कउ + असिचत् (उ being substituted for र by VI. 1. 113) = को + असिचत् (अ-उ-उ = ओ VI. 1. 87) = कोऽसिचत् (ओ-उ-अ = ओ VI. 1. 109). Now applies our sūtra. By VIII. 3. 59, स coming after ओ required to be changed into ष, but here the single-substitute ओ is con-

sidered to be non-effective for this purpose. Similarly कोऽस्य, वाऽस्य, कोऽस्मै, योऽस्मै ॥ Similarly in अभीष्ट there is the addition of त् by VI. 1. 71, though actually preceded by a *long* vowel. That long vowel had resulted from the ekādeśa of ई for इ-इ, and this ekādeśa is considered as if non-effective for the purposes of तुक् augment. Similarly in प्र-इ-इ-तुक्-ल-य=प्रैत्य. Here also अ-इ=ए is considered asiddha.

VArt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasāraṇa, the Locative singular case-ending डि (इ), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix इद् ॥ Of vocalisation we have the following : शकहृषु = शकान् ह्वयति, then we add क्तिप्, before which there is vocalisation of ह्, this उ combining with in the following आ becomes उ ekādeśa: as शकह्वा-ल-क्तिप् = शकह्वा-ल-उ (VI. 1. 15) + शकहु (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by सु : शकहु-ल-सु = शकहृषु (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here स is changed to ष the ekādeśa उ for उ-अ not being considered asiddha. So also परिशीषु (परि + ष्ये + क्तिप् = परि + हृए + क्तिप् = परिवि, add सु) ॥ Of the affix डि we have:—वृक्ष-ल-इ = वृक्षे, add छत्रम्, then the single substitute ए being considered not asiddha we have वृक्षेच्छत्रम् or वृक्षेच्छत्रम् ॥ Of the affix इद् of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपचे-ल-छत्रम् = अपचेच्छत्रम् or अपचेच्छत्रम् ॥ In both these cases we optionally add तुक् by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekādeśa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals दीर्घ or long. Here the ekādeśa is *not* asiddha and therefore तुक् is *optinal* and not compulsory.

आद्गुणः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचीत्यनुवर्तते । अवर्णात्परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाचोः स्याने एको गुण आदेशो भवति ॥

87. The guṇa is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ + a vowel = guṇa).

The word अचि is understood here, For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding vowels, there is the single substitute guṇa. Thus तव + इवम् = तवेवम्, खट्वा + इन्द्रः = खट्वेन्द्रः, माला + इन्द्रः = मालेन्द्रः, तव + ईरते = तवेरते, खट्वा + ईरते = खट्वेरते, तव + उक्कम् = तवाक्कम्, खट्वा + उक्कम् = खट्वाक्कम्, तव + ऋभ्यः = तवर्भ्यः, खट्वा + ऋभ्यः = खट्वर्भ्यः, तव + लकारः = तवल्लकारः, खट्वा + लकारः = खट्वल्लकारः ॥ By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guṇa substitute of ल being अ is always followed by ल, as that of ऋ is followed by र ॥ This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism.

वृद्धिरेचि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, एचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्षिति वर्तते । अवर्णात्परो य एच् एचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णैचोः स्याने वृद्धिरे-कादेशो भवति ॥

88. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-*i*-diphthong = vṛiddhi).

The word आन् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz. the Vṛiddhi. This debarbs guṇa taught in the last sūtra. Thus ब्रह्म + एङका = ब्रह्मैङका, खट्वा + एङका = खट्वैङका, ब्रह्म + ऐतिकायनः = ब्रह्मैतिकायनः, खट्वा + ऐतिकायनः = खट्वैतिकायनः ॥ ब्रह्म + ओवनः = ब्रह्मौवनः, खट्वा + ओवनः = खट्वौवनः, ब्रह्म + औपगवः = ब्रह्मापगवः, खट्वा + औपगवः = खट्वौपगवः ॥

एत्येधत्युहसु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, एधति, ऊहसु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिरेचीति वर्तते, आहिति च । तदेतरेष्वमहणमतेरेव विशेषणं न पुनरेधतेरप्यभिचारावृद्ध्यासम्भवात् । इण् गताधित्येतस्मिन्धातवेचि एध वृद्धाधित्येतस्मिन् ऊहि च पूर्वं यस्वर्गे तस्य परे योच् तयोः पूर्वप-द्योरवर्णाचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकारेद्यो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अक्षावृत्तिभ्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ स्वारीरोरिण्योर्वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रावृहोद्योदधेभ्येषु वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ कृते च तृतीयासमासे ऽवर्णाद् वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनानाद्युपे वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ कृणश्चाभ्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

89. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-*i*-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-*i*-ऊ of ऊह (the substitute of वा in वाह् by VI. 4. 132).

The whole of the last sūtra and आन् are understood here. The एच् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, i. e. when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एध as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊह for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपेति, उप + एधि = उपेधि, उपेमि; उप-*i*-एधते = उपेधते, प्रेधते; प्रध-*i*-ऊहा = प्रधौहा ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादोऽनन्तरान् विधिन् वाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Therefore the present rule does not apply here, :—उप + आ-*i*-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अपेहि is wrong. So also उप-*i*-इत = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

Var. :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सना ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्वर is followed by ईर or ईरिण, or ईरिणी thus स्वरम्, स्वरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईरगता (Ad. 8) स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वरम् the compounding takes place by 11. 1. 32. Another form is स्वेरी = स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ते गच्छति with the affix णिनि (111. 2. 78).

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊह, ऊहि, एष, एष्य; as प्रोहः, प्रोहः, प्रोहिः, प्रेषः, प्रेष्यः ॥ The word एष is derived from the root इषु 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ्; and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding ण्यत् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused परकृपः ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to glean', and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes; and with प्र, their forms will be प्रेषः and प्रेष्यः ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by कृत and forms an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound: as सुखेन कृतः = सुखार्तः, दुःखेन कृतः = दुःखार्तः, but सुखेन इतः = सुखेतः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥ Why 'Compound'? See सुखेनर्तः ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word कृण follows the following:—प्र, वस्ततर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वस्ततरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer', कम्बलार्णम् 'debt of a blanket', वसनार्णम् 'debt of a cloth'.

Vārt:—So also when the words कृण and वृण are followed by कृणः—as, कृणार्णम् and वृणार्णम् ॥ The word कृणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country.

आटञ्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आटः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एषीति निवृत्तम् । अक्षीत्यनुवर्तते । आटः परो यो ऽच्च अचि च पूर्वो य आट तयोः पूर्वपरयोरा-
टयोः स्थाने वृत्तिरिति शो भवति ।

90. 'The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आट् is followed by any vowel.

The anuvṛitti of एचि ceases: that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट्, and the आट् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आट् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment आट् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत्, और्ध्वीत्, और्ध्वीत् from roots ईक्षदृशने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उ हृज आर्जने (Tud. 20). According to Siddhānta Kaumudī the आट् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *naḍi*-words (VII. 3. 112). According to him the following are the examples:—बहुभ्यसी-1-आट्-1-ङे=बहुभ्यस्यै (Dative Singular). The आट् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लट् ॥

The 'and' in the sūtra shows that the परकृप rule, taught in VI. 1. 95, 96 when उस्, ओं and आइ follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आइ ॥ Thus औलीयन्, औकारीयन् ॥ आ-। ऊढा = भोढा, तमिच्छन् = भौढीयन् ॥

उपसर्गादिति धातौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, ऋति, धातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादकाराक्षौ धातौ परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

91. The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upasarga) is followed by the short ऋ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with क, the Vriddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent क ॥ This debarbs the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus उप + कच्छति = उपाच्छति, प्राच्छति, उपाधोति ॥ Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खदुच्छति, मालच्छति, प्रच्छकोदेशः = प्रगता कच्छका अस्माद् देशान् ॥ Here the word प्र is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sūtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when क follows'? Observe उप-। इत = उपेतः ॥ Why have we used त् after क indicating that short क is to be taken? Observe उप + क्कारीयति = उपकार्यायति ॥ No option is allowed here by the subsequent sūtra. The त् is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin with a long क ॥ Why have we employed the word धातु, when the word 'upasarga' would have caused us to infer its correlative धातु? It is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129 which causes प्रकृतभावः or non-sandhi of क ॥ The repetition of 'Dhātu' shows that the alternative prakṛti bhava taught in VI. 1. 129, would not apply in the case of the क of a Dhātu.

वा सुप्यापिशलेः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, सुपि, आपिशलेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । उपसर्गादिति धाताविति च । सुबन्तावयवे धातावृकाराक्षौ परतो ऽवर्णान्तादुपसर्गात्पूर्वपरयोरपिशलेराचार्यस्य मतेन वा वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

92. According to the opinion of Āpīśali, the Vriddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning with ऋ ॥

Thus उपार्षभीयति or उपर्षभीयति, उपल्कारीयति or उपाल्कारीयति ॥ The क and ऋ are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word क in the last sūtra includes ऋ also. The name of the Grammarian Āpīśali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

औतो ऽमृशसोः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, ओतः, अम् - शसोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औतो ऽमि शसि च परतः पूर्वपरयोराकार आदेशो भवति ॥

93. For ओ of a Nominal stem-**अ** of the Accusative case-ending **अम्** and **अस्**, the single substitute is **आ** ॥

The word **औतः** is a compound of **आ** + **औतः** ॥ Thus **गां - अम्**, = **गाम्**, **गो-अस्** = **गाः** ॥ Thus **गां पश्य**, **गाः पश्य** ॥ This debars the Vṛddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also **द्यां** or **द्याः पश्य**; as the word **द्या** is also a nominal stem ending in **ओ** ॥ The Sārva-nāmsthāna affixes are **णिन्** after this word also (see VII. 1. 90) which would have caused Vṛddhi, therefore, this **आ** debars the Vṛddhi. The word **अम्** here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix **श्चस्**, and as the word **सुप्** of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore **अम्** the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have **अचिनवम्**, **असुनवम्** ॥

पाङि पररूपम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाङि, पररूपम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव. उपसर्गाद्भाताविति च। अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादेङासौ धातौ पूर्वपरयोः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शकन्श्चादिषु पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवे चानियांगे पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ ओत्वोष्ठयोः समासे वा पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एमन्त्रादिषु छन्दांसि पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

94. For the **अ** or **आ** of the Preposition-**अ** or **ओ** of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words **आत्**, **उपसर्गाद्भातो** are understood here. In an upasarga ending in **अ** or **आ** followed by a root beginning with **ए** or **ओ**, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (**पररूप**) ॥ This debars Vṛddhi taught in VI. 1. 88. Thus **उपलयति**, **प्रेलयति**, **उपोषति**, **प्राषति** ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus **उपेङकीयति** or **उपेङकीयति**, **उपोदनीयति** or **उपोदनीयति** ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of **शकन्शुः** &c. As **शक-अ-अन्शुः** = **शकन्शुः**, **कुल + अदा** = **कुलदा**, **सीम + अन्तः** = **सीमन्तः** 'hair'; when not referring to 'hair', the form is **सीमान्तः** ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when **एव** follows a word, and the sense is not that of 'appointment'. Thus **इह-अ-एव** = **इहेव**; **अद्य-अ-एव** = **अद्येव** ॥ When the sense is that of **नियोग**, the Vṛddhi takes place: as **इहेव भव**, **माज्यच्च गाः** ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when **ओतु** and **ओष्ठ** are compounded with another word: as **स्थूल ओतुः** = **स्थूलौतुः** or **स्थूलोतुः**, so also **बिम्बोष्ठी** or **बिम्बोष्ठी** ॥ When not a compound, the Vṛddhi is compulsory: as **तिष्ठ देवदत्तौष्ठं पश्य** 'Stay Devadatta, see the lip'.

Vart:—In the Vedas, the para-rūpa substitution takes place when **एमन्** &c. follow. Thus **अपां त्वा एमन्** = **अपां त्वेमन्** ॥ So also **अपां त्वा ओमन्** = **अपां त्वोमन्** ॥

ओमाङोश्च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम् - आङोः , च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव। अवर्णान्ताशोमि भाङि च परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

95. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आन् is understood here. Thus का-1-ओम् = कोम् ; या-1-ओम् = योम् ; as कामित्यंश्चन्, यामित्यंश्चन् ; आ-1-ऊढा = ओढा, then अद्य-1-आढा = अयोढा, कदा-1-आढा = कयोढा, तदा + ओढा = तयोढा ॥ आ + ऋद्यान् = अर्द्यान्, then अद्य-1-अर्द्यान् = अद्यर्द्यान् ॥ Thus this rule supersedes both the Vridhhi and the lengthening (VI. 1. 88, and 101).

उत्स्यपदान्तात् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्सि, अपदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णादपदान्तादसि पूर्वपरयोराद्गुणापवादः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

96. For the अ or आ (not standing at the end of a Pada or full word) + उ of उत्स the Tense-affix, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आन् is understood here. This debarbs the guṇa substitution taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus भिन्धा-1-उस् = भिन्धुः, छिन्धा-1-उस् = छिन्धुः ॥ अदा-1-उस् = अदुः, (लुङ् of दा) अया-1-उस् = अयुः ॥ All these are examples of लिङ् (Potential) and लङ् (Imperfect). Thus भिन्द् + यासुद् + झि (the यासुद् is added by III. 4. 103) = भिन्द् + य + उस् (जुस् replaced झि III. 4. 108) = भिन्धुस् ॥ अदा + सिच् + झि = अदा + उ (II. 4. 77) + जुस् (III. 4. 110) = अदा + उस् = अदुः ॥ अ + या + झि = अ + या + उस् (VI. 4. 111) = अयुः ॥ The उस् is also the substitute of झि in लिट् (Perfect) see III. 4. 82. When the preceding vowel is not अ or आ, this rule does not apply. Thus the 3rd per. pl. of the Perfect of कृ is :—चकृ-1-उस् = चक्रुः ॥ So also from श्री we have अश्रिभे-1-उस् = अश्रिभयुः ॥ The word अपदान्तात् 'not being final in a pada' does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sūtra. For the affix उस् can never be added to a Pada, it must always be added to a stem, that has not yet risen to the rank of a Pada. If उस्, however, be taken as the syllable उस् (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of अपदान्तात् becomes valid. Thus का + उस्त्रा = कोस्त्रा, का + उस्त्रिता = कोस्त्रिता ॥ Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra or because उस् syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस् ॥

अतो गुणे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, गुणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तादिति वृत्ते । अकारादपदान्ताद्गुणं परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

97. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

Thus पच्-1-अण्-1-अन्ति = पच-1-अन्ति = पचन्ति so also यजन्ति ॥ This debarbs lengthening of VI. 1. 101. पच् + ए = पचे, यज् + ए = यजे, here the Vridhhi is debarred (VI. 1. 88). Why do we say "after the short vowel अ ?" Observe या-1-अन्ति = यान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why do we say when followed by 'a Guṇa letter ?' Observe

अपच-1-इ = अपचे, अयजे ॥ When final in a Pada, this rule does not apply : as
 ण्ड-1-अमं = ण्डामम्, दूषामम्, क्षुद्रामम् ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य, अतः, इतौ ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तमपरिस्पृष्टवर्णं तदनुकरणं परिस्पृष्टवर्णमेव केन चित्सादृश्येन तदव्यक्तमनुकरोति तस्य यो-
 ष्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ पूर्वपरयोः स्थिति पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ अनिकाच इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अन् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound)-1-इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्तः; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पटन्-1-इति = पटिति, घटन् + इति = घटिति, झटन् + इति = झटिति, छमन् + इति = छमिति ॥

Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe जगन्-1-इति = जगदिति ॥ Why do we say "of अन्"? Observe मरद् + इति = मराडिति ॥ Why do we say when followed by इति? Observe पटन् + अन्न = पटवन्न ॥

Vart.:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—स्रन् + इति = स्रदिति ॥ How do you explain the form घटदिति in the following:—घटदिति गम्भीरमम्बुर्नदितम् ॥ Here the word is not घटन्-1-इति but घटद्-1-इति ॥

नाम्नेडितस्यान्यस्य तु वा ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आम्नेडितस्य, अन्यस्य, तु, वा ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्याम्नेडितस्य यो ष्छब्द इतौ तस्य पररूपं न भवति तस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य वा भवति ॥

99. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्-1-इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Thus पटत्पटदिति or पटत्पटेति करोति (पटत्पटन् + इति = पटत्पट + इ + ति = पटत्पटेति) ॥ The word is doubled by VIII. 1. 4. The para-rûpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पटत्पटिति करोति ॥ Here we apply the preceding sûtra. The âmreḍita is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. 1. 2).

नित्यमाम्नेडिते डाचि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, आम्नेडिते, डाचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यातोऽन्यस्येति शानुवर्जते । डाच्यं यदाप्नेडितं तस्मिन्पूर्वस्याव्यक्तानुकरणस्या-
 ष्छब्दस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य पूर्वस्य परस्य चाद्यस्य वर्णस्य नित्यं पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

100. Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix आ is added which causes the elision of the final अन्, for the final त् of the first member and the initial

consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus पदपदा कर्णात् (V. 4. 57), इममा करोति ॥ पदत्पदत्-न-डाच् (V. 4. 57) = पदत्पदा = पदपदा (नृ+पृ=प्) ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. When the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) is added to पदत्, there is doubling of the word by the Vārtika under VIII. 1. 12: this doubling takes place before the final अत् is elided.

अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकः, सवर्णे, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकः सवर्णे ऽचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने दीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सदर्पदीर्घत्वे ऋति ऋवा वचनम् ॥ वा० ॥ लृति लृवा वचनम् ॥

101. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus वण्ड + अग्रम् = वण्डाग्रम्, वधि + इन्द्रः = वधीन्द्रः, मधु + उदके = मधूदके and होतृ + ऋभ्य होतृभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'an अक or simple vowel?' Observe अग्ने-न-ए = अग्नये ॥ Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe वधि-न-अन्न = वध्यन्न ॥ The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुस्त्ववर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I. 1. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when नाञ् झलौ (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाञ् झलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9) and then comes the महणक्वाक्यं (I. 1. 68). Therefore in नाञ् झलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained *directly* in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though *short* इ and श are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10: the *long* ई and श would be savarṇa.

Vārt:—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional: so also with लृ ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or लृ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is $1\frac{1}{2}$ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऊकाल &c). Thus होतृऋकारः = होतृकारः or होतृकारः, so also होतृ-न-लृकारः = होतृलृकारः or होतृलृकारः ॥ The दीर्घ of लृ is ऋ ॥

प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमयोः, पूर्व - सवर्णः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इति दीर्घ इति वर्तते । प्रथमाशब्दे विभक्तिविशेषे रुढस्तत्साहचर्यात् द्वितीयापि प्रथमेऽप्युक्ता । सत्यां प्रथमायां द्वितीयायां च विभक्तावचि अकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥

102. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अकः and द्यः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case or the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्व रूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अग्नि-1-औ = अग्नी ; वायु-1-औ = वायू ; वृक्ष-1-अस् = वृक्षाः, so also इक्षाः, वृक्षान्, इक्षान् ॥ In the case of these last four examples (वृक्ष-1-अस् &c) the rule VI. 1. 97 would have caused para-rūpa substitution i. e. would have given the form वृक्ष-1-अस् = वृक्षः, and that rule would have debarred the lengthening rule VI. 1. 101 on the maxim "apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede those rules that stand nearest to them ;" but not this पूर्वसवर्ण lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अचि 'when a vowel follows' is understood here also. Thus वृक्ष-1-स् = वृक्षः, इक्षः ॥ The word अक 'the simple vowel' is understood here also. Thus नौ-1-औ = नावौ ॥ Why do we say 'a vowel homogenous to the antecedent ?' The substitute will not be one homogenous to the second or the subsequent vowel. The दीर्घ or 'long' is used in order to debar the substitution of pluta vowel having 3 measures for a pluta vowel,

तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, शसः, नः, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्पूर्वतवर्णदीर्घादुत्तरस्य शसो ऽवयवस्य सकारस्य पुंसि नकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. After such a long vowel homogenous with the first, न् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus वृक्ष-1-शस् = वृक्ष-1-अन् = वृक्षान् ॥ So also अग्नीन्, वायून्, तर्तून्, होतून्, पण्डितान् स्थूतान्, अरक्तान्, पञ्च &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word चञ्चा formed by the elision of कञ् meaning a figure like a चञ्चा (V. 3. 98), may refer to both the males and females. It will however retain its feminine form though referring to a male being (See लुपि युक्तवद् व्यक्ति वचने I. 2. 51). In forming the accusative plural of चञ्चा, the स् will not be changed into न् ॥ Thus चञ्चाः पञ्च, वधिकाः पञ्च ॥ Why do we say 'after such a long vowel homogenous with the first?' The rule will not apply if the long vowel has resulted by being a single substitute for the antecedent and the subsequent. Thus आ is substituted for औ-1-अ by VI. 1. 93. Here स् will not be replaced by न् as गाः पञ्च ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural?' Observe वृक्षाः, पक्षाः endings in अस् Nom Pl. Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, धेनुः, बह्वीः, कुमारीः ॥

नादिचि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आत्, इचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णादिचि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

104. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Thus वृक्षौ, लक्षौ, खट्वे, कुण्डे ॥ Here Rules VI. 1. 87 &c. apply. Why do we say "after अ or आ?" Observe अग्नी ॥ Why do we say "followed by an इच् (a vowel other than अ)?" Observe वृक्षाः here VI. 1. 102 applies.

दीर्घाज्जसि च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाज्जसि इचि च परतः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

105. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

Thus कुमार्यो, कुमार्यः, ब्रह्मवन्ध्रौ, ब्रह्मवन्ध्रः ॥

वा छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाच्छन्दसि विषये जसि च इचि च परतो वा पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

106. In the Vedas, the long vowel may optionally be the single substitute of both vowels in these cases last mentioned.

Thus मारुतीः or मारुत्याः, पिण्डीः or पिण्ड्यः, वाराही or वाराह्यौ ; उपानही or उपानह्यौ ॥

अमि पूर्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमि, पूर्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इत्येव । अमि परतो ऽकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं पूर्वं एकादेशो भवति ॥

107. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus वृक्ष-1-अम् = वृक्षम् (VII. 1. 24) लक्षम्, अग्नि-1-अम् = अग्निम्, वायुम् ॥ The word पूर्व 'antecedent, first' in the sūtra shows that the first vowel itself is substituted and not any of its homogenous vowels. Otherwise in कुमारी + अम् = कुमारीम् the ई would have been of three mātrās or measures, as it comes in the room of ई + अ, the aggregate mātrās of which are three.

In the Vedas, there is option, as शर्मी or शर्म्य, गौरी or गौर्यम् ॥ अम् is the

ending of the Accusative singular of all genders and also of the nominative singular in the Neuter in certain cases. (See VII. I. 23, 24 and 28).

संप्रसारणाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रसारणात्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वं इत्येव । संप्रसारणादचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं पूर्वं एकादेशो भवति ॥

108. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semivowel and the subsequent vowel.

The word पूर्वः is understood here. When a vocalised semi-vowel is followed by a vowel, the vocalised vowel is alone substituted, the subsequent vowel merging in it. Thus यञ्-ल-क्त = इअञ्-ल-क्त (VI. I. 15) = इष्टम् (इ-ल-अ = इ); so उअम् (वप्-ल-क्त = उ अश्-ल-त), यह् + इत = गृ अह्-ल-इत = गृहीतं ॥ Had there not been this merging, the vocalisation would become either useless or the two vowels would have been heard separately without sandhi. Thus in वप् + त = उअप् + त, if the अ did not merge in उ, then it would cause sandhi, and उ would be changed to व् by इकौयणचि and the word would again assume the form वप् ॥ But this यणादेशाच्च would cause samprasârâṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as उ अप् ॥

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. I. 106) applies here also. Thus we have यज्यमानो मित्रावरुणो or इज्यमानो ॥ "When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no यणादेशाच्च when there is no purvavâd-bhâva we do you form यज्यमान्; it ought to be इ अज्यमान्" ? We have only said that vocalisation rule becomes useless if there was not this rule of merging of the subsequent vowel; but where there is this rule of purva-vâd-bhâva, and only an *option* is allowed, then the rule of vocalisation does not become totally useless because it finds its scope in cases like इष्टः &c, therefore when in the *alternative* it is not applied, there यणादेशाच्च will take place naturally, and the ordinary rules of sandhi will apply. The merging, moreover, refers to the vowel which is in the same aṅga or base with the samprasârâṇa. Thus शकान् ह्वयात् = शकह्वा + त्रिषप् = शकह् उ आ = शकह् ॥ Here आ which is in the same अङ्ग with हु merges in to उ ॥ But in forming the dual, we have शकह् + औ ॥ Here औ coming after the samprasârâṇa ऊ does not merge therein, and we have शकहौ ॥ Similarly शकह् + अर्थे = शकह्वर्थम् ॥ In fact when *once* the para-purvâtva has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation इ अ ए into इष्ट, the purva-rupa is ordained to save the samprasârâṇa from modification, but there is no such necessity when a Bahiranga operation is to be applied.

पङ्कः पदान्तादति ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पङ्कः, पदान्तात्, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यः पदान्तस्तस्मादति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं पूर्वरूपमकादेशो भवति ॥

109. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus अग्ने-1-अञ् = अग्नेऽञ्, वायो-1-अञ् = वायोऽञ् ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अङ् and अञ् ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe द्यञ्, मध्वञ् ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे-1-अन = चयनञ्, लो-1-अन = लवनञ् ॥ Here the ए or ओ are in the body of the word, and not at the end of a word. Why do we say "when followed by a short अ"? Observe वायो-1-इति = वायविति, भानो-1-इति = भानविति ॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो आयाहि = वायवायाहि ॥

डसिङ्सोश्च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ डसिङ्सोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् इति वर्त्तते, अतीतिच । एङ् उत्तरयोर्डसिङ्सोरिति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकारेशो भवति ॥

110. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word),-1-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Thus अग्ने-1-अस् = अग्नेः, वायोः ॥ The इ and उ of अग्नि and वायु are gunated by VII. 3. 111. This sūtra applies when the ए or ओ are in the middle of a word and not padānta, as in the last. Thus अग्नेरागच्छति, वायोरगच्छति, अग्नेः स्वम्, वायोः स्वम् ॥

ऋत उक्त् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, उक्त् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिङ्सोरित्वेव ऋकारान्तादुत्तरयोर्डसिङ्सोरिति पूर्वपरयोर्स्कार एकारेशो भवति ॥

111. In the room of ऋ-1-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Thus होत्-1-अम् = होतुर्म् (The उ must always be followed by र् I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ + अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces *two*, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and [mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरगच्छात्, होतुः स्वम् ॥

ख्यत्यात्परस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख्य - त्यात्, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिङ्सोरिति वर्त्तते उक्ति च । ख्यत्यासिति स्थित्वास्तीतिशब्दत्तिशब्दयोश्चकृत्येयणादेशयोर्विग्रहणं, ताभ्यां परस्य डसि ङ्सोरत् उकारोदेशो भवति ॥

112. There is the substitution of उ for the अ of

अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङ्सोः and उत् are understood here also. The य्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and ख्य denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि-1-अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वयम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वयम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus: सह्येन वर्तते = सखः, सखमिच्छति = सख-1-म्यच् (III. 1. 8) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्तिप् to the denominative root सखीय we get सखी: 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी-1-अस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्तिप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also लून्युः, the न् of लूनी being the substitute of त् of Nishthā, is considered like त् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and ख्य in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c : where we have अतिसखेः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is चि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to Dr. Ballantyne this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखी: 'one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय-1-क्तिप्), and सुती: 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय-1-क्तिप्) : Thus सुख्युः, सुत्युः &c.

अतो रोःरप्लुतादप्लुते ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, रोः, अप्लुतात्, अप्लुते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति, उरिति वर्तते । अकाराप्लुतादुत्तरस्य रोरेफस्य उकारानुबन्धविशिष्टस्य अकारे ऽप्लुते परत उकारादेशो भवति ॥

113. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र substitute of a final स् VIII. 2. 66) when an अ, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

The phrase उत् is understood here, as well as the word आत् of VI. 1. 109, III. Thus वृक्ष-1-सु (1st singular) = वृक्षस् = वृक्षर् (VIII. 2. 66). वृक्षर्-1-अत्र = वृक्षउ-1-अत्र = वृक्षो-1-अत्र (VI. 1. 87) = वृक्षोऽत्र (VI. 1. 109); so also प्लक्षोऽत्र ॥ This ordains उ for र्, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य्; and this उ does not become asiddha (as it depends upon रु VIII. 2. 66) for the purposes of VIII. 3. 17, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 1.

Why do we say 'after an अ'? Observe अग्निर्-1-अत्र = अग्निरत्र ॥ Why do say 'a short अ'? Observe वृक्षाः-1-अत्र = वृक्षा अत्र ॥ Why do we use रु with its indicatory उ, and not use the र् generally? Observe स्वर-1-अत्र = स्वरत्र, प्रातर-1-अत्र प्रातरत्र ॥ Here the final र् is part of the words, and is not produced from स् ॥

The word अति is understood here also from VI. 1. 109. The र must be *followed* by a short अ, therefore, not here: वृक्षर्-इह = वृक्ष इह ॥ The subsequent अ must be short, the rule does not apply here वृक्षर्-अभिहितः = वृक्ष अभिहितः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, सुलोता इ अच स्वसि (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ"? Observe तिष्ठतु पय आग्निवत् (VIII. 2. 86). Here प्लुत being held asiddha, there would have been उ substitution, had not the phrase अप्लुतं been used in the aphorism.

हशि च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हशि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हशि च परतो ऽत उत्तरस्य रोहकारदेशो भवति ॥

114. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र substitute of स् VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The हश् pratyāhāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus पुरुषो वाति or हसति or हवति &c.

प्रकृत्या अन्तःपादमव्यपरे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, अन्तः-पादम्, अव्यपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङो ऽसीत्येव । एङ इति यत्पञ्चम्यन्तमनुवर्त्तते तदर्यादिषु प्रथमान्तं भवति । प्रकृतिरिति स्वभावः कारणं वा ऽभिधीयते । अन्तरित्यव्ययमधिकरणभूतं मध्यमाच्छेदे । पादशब्देन च ऋक्पादस्यैव ग्रहणमिष्यते न तु श्लोकपादस्य । अव्यकारयकारपरे ऽति परत एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

115. The final ए or ओ and the following अ when occurring in the middle half of a foot of a Vedic verse, retain their original forms, except when the अ is followed by इ or उ ॥

The word एङः is understood here, but it should be construed here in the nominative case and not in the Ablative. The word प्रकृति means 'original nature, cause'. The word अन्तर is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means 'in the middle'. The word पादः 'the foot of a verse' refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word अति is also understood here. Thus ते अमे अभ्यमायुञ्जन्; ते अस्मिन् अवमारुधुः, उपमयन्तो अभ्यर्न्; शिरो अपश्यन्; सुजाते अभ्यसूनुते (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); अभ्यर्षो अग्निभिः सुतम् (Rig IX. 51. 1); शुक्रं ते अन्यत् (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a foot of a verse?' Observe कया मती कुत एतास एतेऽर्चन्ति ॥ Why do we say "when इ or उ does not follow अ?" Observe तेऽवर्न् (Rig X. 109. 1), तेऽयस्मयन् ॥ Why do we say ए or ओ? Observe अन्वग्निरुषसामममखयत् ॥ Some read this sūtra as नान्तः पादमव्यपरे ॥ According to them, this sūtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संहिता (VI. 1. 72).

अव्यादवद्यादवक्रमुरव्रतायमवन्ववस्युषु च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्युषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यात् अवद्यात् अवक्रमुः अव्रत अयम् अवन्तु अवस्यु इत्येतेषु यकारवकारपरेष्यति परतोऽन्तः पारमं प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

116. The ए or ओ retain their original form in the middle of a Vedic verse, when the following words come after them (though the अ in these has a व् and य् following it) :—
अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्यु ॥

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥ मित्रमहो अवद्यात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), ना शि-
वासो अवक्रमुः (Rig VII. 32. 27); ते नो अव्रताः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof.
Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda:—सीक्षन्तो अव्रतम्
(VI. 14. 3), सर्वहन्ता अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 5), कर्ते अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 8). शतधारी अयं नग्निः, ते
नो अवन्तु पितरः (Not in the Rig Veda: according to Prof. Bohtlingk the अ of अवन्तु
is generally elided in the Veda after ए or ओ) कुशिकासो अवस्यवः (Rig III. 42. 9).

यजुष्युरः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, उरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्द एवन्तो यजुषि विषये ऽति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

117. In the Yajur-Veda, the word उरस् when changed to उरो, retains its original form when followed by a short अ which is also retained.

Thus उरो अन्तरिक्षम् (Yaj. Veda Vajasan. IV. 7). Some read the sūtra as यजुष्युरोः ॥ They take the word as उर ending in उ, which in the Vocative case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सज्ज ॥ But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोरन्तरिक्षम् सज्जः ॥ In the Yajur Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तः पारं does not apply here.

आपोजुषाणोवृष्णोवर्षिष्ठेऽम्बेऽम्बालेऽम्बिकेपूर्वे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, जुषाणः, वृष्णोः, वर्षिष्ठे, अम्बे, अम्बाले, अम्बिके, पूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे इत्येते शब्दा अम्बे अम्बाले इत्येतां च यावदम्बिकेशब्दात्पूर्वो यजुषि पठितौ त आति परतः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

118. In the Yajur Veda, the short अ is retained after आपो, जुषाणो, वृष्णो, वर्षिष्ठे, and also in and after अम्बे or अम्बाले when they stand before अम्बिके ॥

Thus आपो अस्मान् प्रातरः शुन्धयन्तु (Yaj. IV. 2). जुषाणो अन्तराज्यस्य (Yaj. V. 35), वृष्णो अंशुभ्यां गभस्ति पूतः (Yaj. VII. 1). वर्षिष्ठे अधिनाके ॥ The Vajasaneyi Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठेऽधि (V. S I. 22): The Taittiriya Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठे अधि ॥ (I. 1. 8. 1. 4, 43, 2. 5. 5. 4) अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके (V. S. 23. 18 where the reading is अम्बे अम्बिकेऽम्बालिके) but Tait S. VII. 4. 19. 1, and Tait Br. III. 9. 6. 3 has अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके ॥ The words अम्बे &c, though in the Vocative, do not shorten their vowel by VII. 3. 107, because they have been so read here.

अङ्गइत्यादौ च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गे, इति-आदौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गशब्दे य एङ् तस्यै चाकारे यः पूर्वः स यजुषि विषये इति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

119. In the Yajur Veda, when the word अङ्गे is followed by अङ्गे, the subsequent short अ is retained, as well as the preceding ए or ओ ॥

Thus ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अवाभ्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निरीभ्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निरीतः, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अवाचिबस् (Yaj. 6. 20).

अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, कु-धपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्ते चाति कवर्गधकारपरे परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

120. In the Yajur Veda, when an anudatta अ is followed by a Guttural or a ध, the antecedent ए or ओ retains its form, as well as this subsequent अ ॥

Thus अयं सो अग्निः (Yaj. 12. 47), अयं सो अन्धरैः ॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented? Observe अधोऽग्ने, here अग्ने has acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say “when followed by a Guttural (कु) or a ध”? Observe सोऽयमग्निः सहस्रियः ॥

अवपथासि च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवपथासि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्तइति चशब्देनानुकुप्यते । अवपथाःशब्दे ऽनुदात्ते ऽकारादौ परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

121. In the Yajur Veda, when the gravely accented अ of अवपथास् follows ए or ओ, the vowels retain their original form.

Thus श्री रुद्रेभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ The word अवपथाः is 2nd per. Singular Imperfect of वप् in the Atmanepada. Thus अ-न-वप्-न-वाप्-न-थास् ॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As यदुद्रेभ्यो ऽवपथाः ॥ Here अ is not grave by virtue of VIII. 1. 30.

सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, विभाषा, गोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र, छन्दसि भाषायां चाति परतो गारेङ् प्रकृत्या भवति विभाषा ॥

122. After गो the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गोऽमं or गो अमं ॥ In the Vedas also अपरावो वा अन्ये गो अन्धेभ्यः, पशवो गोऽम्भाः ॥

अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवङ्, स्फोटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीति निवृत्तम् । अर्चात्येतत्स्वनुवर्त्ततएव । अचि परतो गोः स्फोटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेनावङ्गा-देशो भवति ॥

123. According to the opinion of Sphotāyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of आर्च manifests itself. Thus गो + अम = गवाम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवाष्टम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽमम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवुष्टम् ॥ The substitute अवङ् is accutely accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuvrihi compound (VI. 2. 1). Thus गावा अममस्य = गवामः ॥ In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samāsānta Udātta accent (VI. 1. 223) The mention of Sphotāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. This is a vyavasthita vibhāṣhā, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

इन्द्रे च नित्यम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रे, च, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्ये ऽचि परतो गार्गित्यमवङोदेशो भवति ॥

124. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when a vowel to be found in the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥ So also गवन्द्र यज्ञः ॥ The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahābhāṣya.

प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्लुताश्च प्रगृह्याश्चाचि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

125. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc.) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc.) vowels remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus देवदत्ता इ अव न्वति, यज्ञदत्ता इ इवम् आनय ॥ These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolation of vowels is taught in the tripādi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyāyī; and the tripādi are considered asiddha for the purposes of previous sūtras (VIII. 2. 1.). This is not the case here, otherwise the mention of pluta would be redundant. Of the Excepted or Pragrihya vowels the following are the examples: अग्नी इति, वायु इति, खट्वे इति, माले इति ॥ Though the anuvritti of अचि was current in this sūtra from VI. 1. 77: its repetition here is for the sake of ordaining प्रकृतिभाव ॥ That is, the pluta and the pragrihya retain their original forms when such a vowel follows which would have caused a substitution. Thus जानु उ अस्य, रुज्जति here in combining जानु + उ into जानू, the अ is no cause of lengthening, therefore, the lengthening will take place. Now since उ is a pragrihya, it follows that जानू which ends in उ is also a pra-

grihya, and therefore it should not be changed before अ of अस्य ॥ Hence we have the form जानू + अस्य = जानू अस्य ॥ There may also be the form जान्वस्य, not by इकोयणाच्च, but by मय उग्रो वो वा (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of आच in this sūtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this *peculiar* meaning to the sūtra. Otherwise, had the sūtra been simply *प्लुतप्रगृह्यः*, it would have been translated ordinacily thus: "The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows". Therefore in जानु इ अस्य, since इ is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the इ of जानु ॥ But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word आचि, and the peculiar explanation given above, namely, Pluta and Pragrihya vowels retain their form before a vowel which would otherwise have caused a substitution, but it would not prevent the operation of any other rule. Therefore in जानु इ अस्य रुजति. the इ + इ will become lengthened, because अ is not the *cause* of lengthening; it causes the change of इ to इ, which of course is prevented. The word नित्य of the last sūtra is understood here also. These pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given in VI. 1. 127.

आङो ऽनुनासिकच्छन्दसि ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, अनुनासिकः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङो ऽचि परतः सार्धतायां छन्दसि विषये ऽनुनासिकदिशो भवति स च प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

126. For the adverb आ, is substituted in the Chhandas the nasalised आँ, when a vowel follows it, and it retains its original form.

Thus अन्न अँ अपः (Rig V. 48. 1); गभीर अँ उग्रपुत्रे जिघांसतः (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word बहुलं into this sūtra. Hence there is coalescence here: इन्द्रो बाहुभ्यामातरन् = आ अतरन् ॥

इको ऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, असवर्णे, शाकल्यस्य, ह्रस्वः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इको ऽसवर्णे ऽचि परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्यैकः स्थाने भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ सिन्नित्यसमासयोः शाकलप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ईषामक्षारिषु छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावमात्रं वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a nonhomogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus इधि अन्न, मधु अन्न, कुमारि अन्न, किशोरि अन्न ॥ In the alternative we have इधत्त, मधत्त, कुमार्यत्त, किशोर्यत्त ॥ Why do we say 'the इक् vowels i. e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe खट्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by a non-homogenous vowel'? Observe कुमारीन्द्रः ॥ The name of

Śākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation.

Vart:—This rule of Śākalya is prohibited in the case of words formed by an affix having an indicatory स् and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa):—Thus भयं ते योनिर्कस्त्रियः, प्रजां विदाम कस्त्रियाम्. The word कस्त्रिय is formed by a सिन् affix, namely by घस् (V. 1. 106), added to क्तु; and therefore the उ is changed to व ॥ Before a सिन् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16) Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौवश्वः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्ययम् which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

Vart:—In the Vedas ईषा भक्षः &c are found uncombined. As, ईषा भक्षा, का ईमिरे पिशंगिला, यथा भङ्गदः, पथा भगमन् &c.

ऋत्यकः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋति, अकः, (प्रकृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वभेदेतदनुवर्त्तते । ऋकोर परतः शाकल्यस्यार्थायस्य मतेनाकः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्याकः स्थाने भवति ॥

128. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus खद्वा ऋभ्यः, कुमारि ऋभ्यः, होतृ ऋभ्यः ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः)” ? Observe वृक्षावृदयः (वृक्षां + ऋभ्यः) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

अप्लुतचदुपस्थिते ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ , प्लुत - चत् , उपस्थिते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपस्थितं नामानार्थ इतिकरणः समुदायादवच्छिद्य पदं येन स्वरूपे ऽवस्थाप्यते तस्मिन्परतो ऽप्लुत-वद्भवति ॥ प्लुतकार्यं प्रकृति भावं न करोति ॥

129. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapāṭha, the Pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोका इति = सुश्लोकेति, सुमङ्गला इति = सुमङ्गलेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् “like as”; instead of saying “the Pluta becomes Apluta” why do we say “Pluta is treated like apluta”? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛiti bhāva in the case of pluta and pragrahya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrahya, nor a pragrahya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrahya at one and

the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी or वायू, the इ and ऊ are pragrahya. They may be made pluta also as अग्ना इ or वायू इ ॥ Now if before इति, the pluta became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी इति वायू इति formed by अग्नी इ + इति &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrahya by VI. 1. 125, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्नी इ इति, वायू इ इति ॥

ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई३ कारः प्लुतो ऽपि परतश्चाक्रवर्मणस्याच्चार्यस्य मतेनाप्लुतवद्भवति ॥

130. According to the the opinion of Châkravarmaṇa, the pluta ई३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus अस्तु हीत्यब्रवीत् or अस्तु ही३ इत्यब्रवीत् ॥ चितु ही३म् or चितु ही३ इ३म् ॥ The name of Châkravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows *sandhi* optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति, it ordains *prakṛiti bhāva* optionally, when there would have been always *prakṛiti bhāva* by VI. 1. 125. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prāpta and aprāpta both.

Iṣṭi:—This apluta-vad-bhāva applies to pluta vowels other than इ ; as वशा इ इ३म् or वशेयम् ॥

दिव उत् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङः पदान्तादतीत्यतः परमणमनुवर्तते । दिव इति प्रातिपदिकं गृह्यते न धातुः, सातुबन्धकत्वात् ॥

131. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

The portion पद् of the word पदान्त must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कानो यस्य = शुक्रामः, शुमान्, विमलशु दिनं, शुभ्याम्, शुभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter anubandha and should have been read as दिवु ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for व् by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अक्षशूयाम्, अक्षशूभिः ॥ The उत् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊउ (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊउ substitution the forms will be शूयाम्, शूभिः ॥ The ऊउ also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

एतच्चदोः सु लोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतत् - तदोः, सु लोपः, अकोः, अ - नञ् - समासे -, हलि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतत्तस्यो यावत्कारो नञ्प्रत्यये न वर्तते तयोर्थः सुशब्दः कथं तथाः सुशब्दो यस्तस्यैव संबद्धस्तस्य संहितायां विषये हलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

132. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + वदति = एष वदति, स वदति, एषमुहन्ते, स मुहन्ते ॥ Why do we say of एतद् and तद् ? Observe यो वदति, यो मुहन्ते ॥ Why do we say "the case affix of the Nom. singular ?" Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः ॥ Why do we say 'without क' ? Observe एषको वदति, सको वदति ॥ The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अदाच्, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतद् and तद् without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् मध्येन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it'.

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle" ? Observe अनेषो वदति, असो वदति ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant' ? Observe एषोऽहं, सोऽहं ॥

स्यञ्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, छन्दसि, बहुलम्, (सोः, लोपः,) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ स्य इत्येतस्य छन्दसि हलि परतो बहुलं सार्लोपो भवति ॥

133. In the Chhandas, the case-affix of the nominative singular is diversely elided after स्य, when a consonant follows it.

Thus उत स्य बाजी क्षिपति तुरण्यति मीमायां बद्धो अपिक्व आसनि (Rig IV. 40. 4), एष स्य ते मधुर्मा इन्द्र सोमः (Rig IX. 87, 4) ॥ Sometimes it does not take place: as अहं स्यो निपतेत् ॥ The स्य means 'he'.

सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अचि, लोपे, चेत्, पाद-पूरणम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्याधि परतः सुलोपो भवति लोपे सति चत्वारः पूर्यन्ते ॥

Kārikā स्यैव साधारणी रामः, स्यैव राजा शुधिष्ठिरः ॥

स्यैव कर्णो महात्यागी स्यैव भीमो महाबलः ॥

134. The case-affix of सस् 'he', is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेतु राजा भवति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरतुरुष्यते (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say

'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इव व्याघ्रो भवन् ॥ The word अञि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness: for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. Some explain the word पाद् as 'a foot of a Śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—सैष साधारणी रामः, सैष राजा शुभिष्टिरः, सैष कर्णो महात्यागी, सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

सुद् कात्पूर्वः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुद्, कात्, पूर्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयं, पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायामिति यावत् ॥ इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र मुडिति कात्पूर्वं इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

135. Upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the following sentence is to be supplied in every aphorism:—"before क् is added स्" ॥

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 1. 157. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, in all those, the phrase 'the augment सुद् is placed before the letter क्' should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VI. 1. 137 teaches "After सम्, परि and उप when followed by the verb क्, the sense being that of adorning". Here the above phrase should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. "the augment स् is added before the क् of क् when it is preceded by सम्, परि and उप, and the sense is that of adorning". Thus सम्+स्+क्+तु=संस्कृता, संस्कृतुं, संस्कृतव्यम् ॥ In the succeeding aphorisms it will be seen that the augment सुद् comes only before those roots which begin with क् ॥ What is then the necessity of using the phrase कात्पूर्वः in this sūtra? It is used to indicate that the स् remains unattached to क्, though it stands before it. Thus though क् becomes क्, yet the latter should not be considered to be a verb beginning with a conjunct (sanyoga) consonant: and therefore the guṇa taught in VII. 4. 10 (the root ending in क् and preceded by a conjunct letter, takes guṇa before लिङ्) does not apply, nor do the rules like VII. 4. 29, nor the rules ordaining the addition of intermediate इद् (VII. 2. 43) by which the इद् would come in लिङ् and लिङ् (Imperfect and Aorist): as, संस्कृषीट् and रामस्कृत; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संस्कियते the Passive Imperfect (यकिं लिङि) of संस्कृ ॥ If so, then the anudātta accent taught in VIII. 1. 28 would not take place, since the augment सुद् would intervene between the non-लिङ्-word सं and the लिङ्-त word करोति, thus संस्करोति would have accent on the verb. It is a maxim स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् 'in applying a rule relating to accent the intervening consonants are considered as if non-existent'; and therefore सुद् does not offer any intervention to the application of the rule VIII. 1. 28. If स् is not to be taken as attached to क्, how do you explain

the guṇa in the Perfect 3rd Per. Dual and Plural in संचस्कारतुः and संचस्करः which apparently is done by applying VII. 4. 10. Though that rule strictly applies to roots beginning with a conjunct consonant, it will apply also to roots like संस्कृ which have a conjunct consonant for their penultimate; and the guṇa is done also on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते (See VI. 1. 132). The indicatory इ in सुट् is for the purpose of differentiating it from सु in the Sūtra VIII. 3. 70.

अङ्भ्यासव्यवायेपि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्भ्यासव्यवाये ऽभ्यासव्यवाये सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

136. The augment सुट् is placed before क even when the augment अद् (VI. 4. 71) or the Reduplicate intervenes (between the preposition and the verb).

Thus समस्केरात् (=सम्+अकरोत्), समस्कार्थीत्, संचस्कार (=सम्+चकार), परिचस्कार ॥ This sūtra is not that of Pānini, but is made out of two Vārtikas: अङ् व्यवायउप संख्यानाम्; and अभ्यासव्यवाये च ॥ The augmented root स्कृ would have given the form चस्कार by VII. 4. 61, if स् be considered an integral part of कृ, and no rule of Antaranga and Bahiranga be taken into consideration. It might be said where is the necessity then of this sūtra? The operation relating to a Dhātu and Upasarga is Antaranga, i. e. a root is first joined with the Upasarga, and it undergoes other operations afterwards. Therefore, first the augment सुट् is added, and then the अद् and अभ्यास operations take place. Thus संस्कृ is the form to which अद् and अभ्यास operations are to be applied. Now, we have said in the foregoing aphorism, that सुट् is considered as unattached to क; and therefore, the augment अद् may be added after this सुट्, and so also the reduplication may take place without it. Thus we may have the forms like संसकरोत् and संसचकार ॥ But this is not desired, hence the necessity of the present sūtra teaching that even after अद् and reduplicate, the सुट् must be placed before क and no where else.

संपर्युपेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम् - परि - उपभ्येः, करोतौ, भूषणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् परि उप इत्येतेभ्यो भूषणार्थे करोतौ परतः सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

137. The augment सुट् is placed before क when सम्, परि and उप are followed by the verb कृ and the sense is that of ornamenting.

Thus संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The म् of सम् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 5. So also परिष्कर्ता परिष्कर्तुम् परिष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपष्कर्ता, उपष्कर्तुम् उपष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say

'when meaning to ornament'? Observe उपकरोति ॥ Sometimes सुद् comes after सम् even when the sense is not that of ornamenting: thus संस्कृतमन्नम् ॥

समवाये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवाये, (च सुद्)

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायः सङ्ग्राहस्तस्मिन्कार्ये करोतौ संपर्युपेभ्यः कात्पूर्वः सुद्भागो भवति ॥

138. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after सम्, परि and उप, the sense being that of combining.

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus तत्र नः संस्कृतम् तत्र नः परि-
स्कृतम्, तत्र नः उपस्कृतम् = सङ्गृहीतम् that is 'we assembled there'.

उपात्प्रतियत्नवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रति, यत्न, वैकृत,
वाक्य - अध्याहारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सतो गुणान्तराधानमाधिक्याय वृद्धस्य वा तादवस्थाय समीहा प्रतियत्नः । विकृतमेव वैकृतम् । प्रज्ञादिस्वाङ्ग । गम्यमानार्थस्य वाक्यस्य स्वरूपेणापादानं वाक्यस्याध्याहारः । एतेष्वर्थेषु गम्यमानेषु करोतौ धातौ परत उपात् सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

139. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप, and the sense is that of 'to take pains for something, to prepare, and to supply an ellipses in a discourse'.

To take pains in imparting a new quality to a thing in order to increase its value, or to keep it safe from deterioration is called प्रतियत्नः ॥ That which is prepared or altered is called वैकृतं ॥ The word वैकृतं is the same as विकृतं, the affix भण् being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to प्रज्ञादि class (V. 4. 38). To supply by distinct statement the sense of a sentence which is alluded to, is called the अध्याहार of a sentence. Thus in the sense of 'taking pains' we have एषोक्तस्यापस्कुर्वते (See I. 3. 32); काण्डगुणस्योप-
स्कृते ॥ In the sense of 'altering by preparing' we have: उपस्कृतं भुङ्क्ते, उपस्कृतं गच्छति ॥ In the sense of 'supplying a thesis' we have उपस्कृतं जल्पति, उपस्कृतं-
मधीते ॥ When not having any one of the above five senses (VI. I. 137-139) we have उपकरोति ॥

किरतौ लवने ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ किरतौ, लवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादित्वेव । उपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ धातौ लवनविषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ण्डुलवदन्त्यः ॥

140. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and the sense is that of 'to cut or split',

Thus उपस्कारं मद्रका लुनन्ति, उपस्कारं काङ्गीरका लुनन्ति = विशिष्य लुनन्ति ॥

Vart.—The above augment takes place when णमुल् is added to the verb उप-कृ, as shown in the above examples. When the meaning is not that of 'to cut', the form is उपकिरति ॥

हिंसायां प्रतेश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसायाम्, प्रतेः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरतादित्येव । उपात्प्रतेभ्योत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ हिंसायां विषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

141. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and प्रति, and the sense is "to cause suffering".

Thus उपस्कीणम् or प्रतिस्कीर्णे इन्त ते वृषल भूयात् = तथा ते वृषल विक्षपो भूयाद् यथा हिंसामनुबभ्राति ॥

Why do we say when 'the sense is to cause pain'? Observe प्रति-कीर्णम् ॥

अपाद्यतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, चतुष्पात्, शकुनिषुः, आलेखने (सुद्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरतादित्येव । अपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ चतुष्पाच्छकुनिषु, यवालेखनं तस्मिन् विषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

बा० ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्वेव किरतेरात्मनेपदस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

142. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after अप and the sense is 'the scraping of earth by four-footed animals or birds'.

Thus अपस्किरते वृषभो हटः, अपस्किरते कुक्कुरो भक्ष्यार्थी; अपास्किरते आ आश्रयार्थी = आलिख्य विक्षिपति ॥ Why do we say 'four-footed animals or birds'? Observe अपकिरति देवदणः ॥

Vart.—This rule applies when the scraping is through pleasure, or for the sake of finding food, or making a resting place. Therefore not here:—अपकिरति आ भोदनपिण्डमाशितः ॥ And it is in the above senses of scraping through pleasure &c, that the root takes Ātmanepada affixes; otherwise the Parasmaipada affixes will follow. See I. 3. 21. Vart.

कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणि, जातिः, (सुद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणीति सुद् निपात्यते जातिश्चेद्भवति ॥

143. The word कुस्तुम्बुरु is irregularly formed with the augment सुद् and means 'a species of herb'.

The कुस्तुम्बुरु is the name of coriander : i. e. धान्यकं; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sūtra in the Neuter gender does not however show that the word is always Neuter. When not meaning coriander, the form is कुतुम्बुरु (कुन्वितानि तुम्बुरुणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरस्पराः, क्रिया - सातत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपरस्परा इति सुद् निपात्यते क्रियासातत्ये गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā

सुम्पेद्वयमः कृत्ये तुङ्काममनसोरपि ।
समो वा हितततयोर्मांसस्य पचियुद्धप्रभोः ॥

144. The word अपरस्पराः is formed by the augment सुद् when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'.

Thus अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परंच सकृद्व गच्छन्ति ॥ The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding प्यच् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. 1. 123) = सातत्यं ॥ How do you explain सततम्, it ought to be सन्ततम्? The म् of सम् is optionally elided before ततं, on the strength of the Kārikā:—"The म् of अवभ्यम् is elided before a word ending in a kṛitya affix, the म् of तुम् is elided before काम and मनस्, the म् of सम् is elided optionally before हित and तत, the final अ of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन ॥ As (1) अवभ्य कर्तव्यं = अवभ्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तु कामः, भोक्तुमनः ॥ (3) सम्हितं = सहितं, सम् ततं = सततं ॥ (4) मांस पाकः, मांस पचनम् ॥

गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः-पदम्, सेवित-असेवित-प्रमाणेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोष्पदमिति सुद् निपात्यते तस्य च पत्वं सेविते ऽसेविते प्रमाणे च विषये ॥

145. The word गोष्पद is formed by सुद्, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोष्पदो देवः = गावः पचन्ते यस्मिन् देवो स गोभिः सेवितो देवः ॥ So also अगोष्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोष्पद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows'. Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोष्पदमानं क्षेत्रं, गोष्पदपूरं वृष्टो देवः ॥ Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land and rain. When it has not the above senses, the form is गोपदम् = गोः पदम् ॥ What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra, the word गोष्पद will give अगोष्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोष्पद = अगोष्पद? The force of नञ् compound is that of सदृश "like that but not that". As ब्रह्मह्वान means "a man who is a Kshatrya &c. not a Brāhmana, but does not mean a stone &c". Therefore अगोष्पद with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्पद ॥

आरूपदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आरूपदम्, प्रतिष्ठायाम्, (सुद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आरूपयपनाय स्थानं प्रतिष्ठा तस्यामास्पदमिति सुद् निपात्यते ॥

146. The word आस्पद् is formed by सुट् when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority'. Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe भा पदान् = भापदम् ॥

आश्चर्यमनित्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्चर्यम्, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्यतया विषयभूतया ऽनुत्तर्यामिहलक्ष्यते तस्मिन्नाश्चर्यं निपात्यते । चरेरादि चागुरादिति यत्पक्षे कृते निपातनात्सुट् ॥

147. The word आश्चर्ये is formed by सुट्, when meaning something 'unusual'.

The word आश्चर्य is formed by adding the affix यत् to the verb चर् with the preposition आ, and the augment सुट् ॥ Thus आश्चर्यं यदि स श्रुजान्, आश्चर्यं यदि सो ऽधीयीत ॥ When not having this sense, we have आचर्यं कर्म शोभनम् ॥

वर्चस्के ऽवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्चस्के, अवस्करः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितं वर्चो, वर्चस्कमन्नमलं, तस्मिन्नभिधेये ऽवस्कर इति निपात्यते । भवपूर्वस्य किरतेः कर्मणि क्लृप्तात् इत्यप् निपातनात्सुट् ॥

148. The word अवस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning "excrement".

That which has bad lustre is called वर्चस्क (कुत्सितं) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root कृ is added the affix अप् (III. 3. 57), the preposition अव and irregularly the सुट् ॥ Thus अवस्करोऽन्नमलम् ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have अवकरः ॥

अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्करः, रथाङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्कर इति निपात्यते रथाङ्गं चेद्भवति । अपपूर्वात्किरतेर्क्लृप्तादित्यप्, निपातनात् सुट् ॥

149. The word अपस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning 'the part of a chariot'.

This word is also derived from कृ with the preposition अप and the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and सुट् augment. When not having this meaning, we have अपकरः ॥

विष्करः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्करः, शकुनिः, विकिरः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकिर इति किरतेविपूर्वस्येणपथज्ञापीकिरः कः इति कर्मस्थये विहिते सुट् निपात्यते शकुनिश्चङ्गवर्ति । विकिरशब्दाभिधेयो वा शकुनिर्भवति ॥

Verse सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किराः कुक्कुटादृते ।

150. The word विष्किर is formed with सुट् optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being विकिर ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix क (III. 1. 135) to कृ with the preposition वि and the augment सुद्. The word विक्रि also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase शकुनिर्विक्रि वा is added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra. Thus सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या वाक्क्राः कुरुकुटादत ॥ Though the sūtra त्रिक्वित्वाशकुनौ would have given the optional form विक्रि, the specific mention of this form in the sūtra indicates that विक्रि always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise विक्रि would have referred to some thing other than a bird.

ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, चन्द्रोत्तरपदे, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन्द्रशब्दोत्तरपदे ह्रस्वात्परः सुदागमो भवति मन्त्रविषय ॥

151. In a Mantra, the सुद् is added to चन्द्र when it is second member in a compound and is preceded by a short vowel.

Thus सुचन्द्रो गुप्तात् ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel? Observe सूर्याचन्द्रमसादिव ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, सुचन्द्रा पौर्णमासी ॥ The उत्तरपद can only be in a compound (samāsa) as it is well-known to all. and it does not mean, 'the second word', as the literal meaning might convey: Therefore the rule does not apply here शुक्रमसि चन्द्रमसि ॥

पतिष्कशश्च कशेः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिष्कशः, च, कशेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश गतिशासनयोरित्येतस्य धातोः प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचापचि कृते सुद् निपात्यते, तस्यैव वत्सम् ॥

Verse माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः ।

152. 'To the root कश् 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुद्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding षच् affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary'. The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the root कश्"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां=प्रतिकृशांश्चः 'a horse guided by the whip'. Here though कशा is derived from कश्, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्, and not to a derivative word.

प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्कण्व हरिश्चन्द्रौ, ऋषी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्कण्वो हरिश्चन्द्र इति सुद् निपात्यते ऋषी चेदभिधेयौ भवतः ॥

153. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुद्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषिः ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. 1. 151 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. When not referring to Rishis, we have प्रस्कण्वो द्याः, (ऋण्वे पापं तत्प्रगतं यस्मात्) हरिश्चन्द्रो मानवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य मुग्धस्य) ॥

मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्कर मस्करिणौ, वेणु परिव्राजकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्कर मस्करिन् इत्येतौ यथासंख्यं वेणौ परिव्राजके च निपात्येते ॥

154. The word मस्कर means 'a bamboo', and मस्करिन् means 'a mendicant monk'.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an un-derived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन् ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोमाहः "an alligator", मकरा समुद्र "an ocean". Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix अच, the long षा being shortened. Thus मा क्रियत यन प्राताषभ्यत = मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of ताच्छान्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशाला = मस्करि "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "मा कुरुतः कर्माणि शान्तिर्षः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्तीर, अजस्तुन्दे, नगरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास्तीर अजस्तुन् इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते नगरे ऽभिधेये ॥

155. The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities.

When not meaning cities, we have कातीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य); and अजस्तुन्दम् (अजस्येव तुन्दमस्य) ॥

कारस्करो वृक्षः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारस्करः, वृक्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारस्कर इति सुट् निपात्येते वृक्षभेदवति ॥

156. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार + कृ + ट (III. 2. 21) = कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism.

पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारस्कर प्रभृतीनि, च, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च शब्दरूपाणि निपात्यन्ते संज्ञायां विषये ॥

157. The words पारस्कर &c are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुट् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pāraskara'. कारस्करः 'N. of a tree', रयस्या 'N. of a river', किष्कुः 'N. of a measure', किष्किन्धा 'N. of a cave', तस्कर 'a thief', formed by inserting सुट् in the compound of तन् + कर, and eliding त् ॥ वृहस्पति 'N. of a Diety', formed similarly by inserting सुट् between वृहन् + पति and eliding the त् ॥ Why do we

say when meaning a thief and a diety? Observe तस्करः, बृहस्पतिः ॥ The words चोर and देवता are used in the Ganapāṭha merely for the sake of diversity, the word संज्ञा would have connoted that प्रस्तुम्यति गौः ॥ When the root तुप् तुम्य 'to injure' is preceded by the preposition प्र, there is added सुद् to प्र, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रस्तुम्यति वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्यति the सुद् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्यति गांः, प्रस्तुम्यती गानो, प्रस्तुम्यन्ति गावः ॥ This is an ākritigaṇa. Thus प्रायाश्चनम्, प्रायश्चित्तः ॥

1 पारस्करो वेशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रयस्या नदी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा गुहा, 6 तद्बृहतीः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुद् तलापञ्च (तस्करः चोरः, बृहस्पतिः=देवता), 7 प्रान् तुम्यतौ गवि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्यति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, पदम्, एक-वर्जम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयं स्वरविधिविषया । यत्रान्यः स्वर उदात्तः स्वरितो वा विधीयते तत्रानुदात्तं परमेकं वर्जयित्वा भवतीत्येतदुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

Kārikā

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्यक्स्य च ।

पृथक्स्वरानिवृत्यर्थमेकवर्जं परस्वरः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विभक्तिस्वरान्नस्त्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ विभक्तिनिमित्तस्वरान्नस्त्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

158. A word is, with the exception of one syllable, unaccented.

That is, only one syllable in a word is accented, all the rest are anudātta or unaccented. This is a Paribhāṣhā or maxim of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udātta) or a circumflex (svarita)—is ordained with regard to a word, there this maxim must be applied, to make all the other syllables of that word unaccented. The word अनुदात्त means 'having an anudātta vowel'. What is the *one* to be excepted? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in the rules here-in-after given. Thus VI. 1. 162 teaches that a root has acute accent on the final. Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the other syllables are unaccented. Thus in गोपार्येति the acute accent is on य, all the rest are unaccented. The root accent is superseded by आ accent, thus लुनीति has acute accent on ना ॥ The आ accent is superseded by तस् accent, as लुनीर्तः, has accent on तः ॥ The तस् accent is superseded by आम् accent, as लुनीतस्तरौम् ॥

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्यक्स्य च, पृथक् स्वरानिवृत्यर्थं मेकवर्जं परस्वरः ॥ The words 'with the exception of one syllable' show that the separate accent of an augment, or a preparative element, or a stem or an affix should cease, when a particular accent is taught for a word'. Thus as to (1) augment:—VII. 1. 98 teaches "आम् acutely accented is the augment of चतुर् and अनङ्गु when a sarvanāmsthāna affix follows". Thus चत्वारः, अनङ्गुहः, here the augment-accent

supersedes the accent of the stem, for चतुर was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also अनडुह्, these being formed by the affixes उरन् and असुन् respectively. Thus चन् + उरन् = चतुर (चतेरन् Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197); अनडुह् is thus derived : अनो वहति = अनस् + वह् + कृष्, the स् is replaced by ड्, and there is vocalisation of व् of वह् VI. 1. 15 = अनडुह् ॥ This word is formed by a Kṛit affix with a kārāka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 139) अनस् itself is derived by adding the affix (Un IV. 189) असुन् which makes the word acutely accented on the first syllable. (2). Similarly as to विकार (Vikaraṇa):—VII. 1. 75 teaches “instead of अस्थि, स्थि, सक्थि, and अक्षि, there shall be अनड् acutely accented when दा follows or any of the subsequent terminations beginning with a vowel”. This अन will supersede the acute accent of the first अ of the stem : as अस्थौनि ॥ The word अस्थि is derived from अस् by adding the affix कृथिन् (Un III. 154) which makes the word accutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is an example of विकार ॥ (3) Similarly in गोपायति the accent of the stem taught in VI. 1. 162 ‘a root has an accent on its final’, supersedes the accent of the vikaraṇa आय (III. 1. 28, 3), i. e. the acute accent on आ in आय gives way to the root-accent which makes य acute. (4) So also the accent of the affix supersedes that of the stem : as कर्त्तव्यम्, and हर्त्तव्यम्, which are formed by the affix तव्यन् (III. 1. 96) here VI. 1. 185 debars the accent of the root (VI. 1. 162).

The determination of the proper accent of a word depends upon considering the various rules that have gone to form it, and the sequence of those rules, e. g. a latter rule (पर) superseding a prior rule, a nitya rule superseding an anitya rule, an antaranga superseding a bahiranga, an apavāda rule superseding an utsarga rule. But another test is, what is the remaining rule that applies after giving scope to all. A rule, that in spite of another rule, finds scope or activity, bars that former rule. Thus गोपायति ॥ It is derived from गुप् root, which as a root has accent on the syllable गु (VI. 1. 162). When the affix आय is added to it by III. 1. 28, the word becomes गोपाय and it takes the accent of the affix (III. 1. 3), i. e. the accent now falls on पा ; but now comes rule III. 1. 32 which says that a word taking the affix आय is a root. Thus गोपाय gets the designation of root (धातु), and thus takes the accent of a dhātu (VI. 1. 162), and the accent falls on य ॥

The rule is that except one special accent taught in a sūtra the other syllables take anudātta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the following maxim: “परानित्यान्तरङ्गापवादैः स्वरैर्व्यवस्था सतिप्रकृतिशिष्टेनच” ॥ namely (1) the sequence, a succeeding rule setting aside a prior rule (2) a Nitya rule is stronger than Anitya, (3) Antaranga stronger than Bahiranga, (4) the Apavāda is stronger than Utsarga. When all these are exhausted, as we have illustrated above, then we apply the rule of सतिशिष्ट ॥ What is this rule? To quote the words of Kāsikā: यो हि यस्मिन् सति शिष्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति “that which

does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other". Thus in गोपायति; here the प्रत्ययस्वर: "the accent of the affix" (III. 1. 3) by which the acute is on the first syllable of the affix is an apavāda to the धातुस्वरः (VI. 1, 192) by which the final of a dhātu is acute, and it debars the dhātu-accent; but this affix-accent is in its turn debarred in the case of derivative verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सतिशिष्ट, because even after the addition of the affix, these words retain the designation of dhātu. Similarly in काष्णोत्तरासङ्गपुत्रः, "The son of him whose upper garment (uttarāsanga) is of black color—the Son of Baladeva" the Bahuvrihi-accent (VI.2.1) being an apavāda to Samāsa-accent (VI. 1. 223), debars the samāsa-accent; but this Bahuvrihi-accent is in its turn debarred by the rule of सतिशिष्ट when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrīhi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सतिशिष्ट, yet it does not debar the Sārvadhātuka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in लुनीतः, the accent of the vikarana नी does not debar the accent of तस् ॥

Vārt:—The नञ्-accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in अतिसः, here the accent of असु vibhakti after तिसृ (VI. 1. 166) though सतिशिष्ट is debarred by नञ् accent taught in VI. 2. 2, for Negative compounds are Tat-purusha.

Vārt:—The accent of नञ् is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus अषत्वारः ॥ Here the augment आम् in चत्वार is occasioned because of the case-affix, for it is added only then when a Sarvanāma case-affix follows (VII. 1. 98). This औ is udātta (VI. 1. 98). But this udātta is superseded by the accent of the Negative particle.

Why do we say 'in the body of a pada'? In a sentence, every word will retain its accent. As देवदत्त ! गौमभ्याज शुक्लौम् "O Devadatta, drive away the white cow". The word पद् is in fact used in this sūtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पद् when completed; had it meant the full ready made pada, this word would not have been repeated in पदाधिकार sūtra (VIII. 1. 16, 17). Had a full 'pada' been meant, the incongruity would arise in the following. The word कुवल is acutely accented on the first as belonging to ग्रामादि class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix डीष् to it by its belonging to गौरादि class, we get कुवली, which will retain its acute on the first because it is not technically a पद् ॥ But it is not so, the word कुवली has anudātta accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the अञ् affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुवल्यादिकारः=कौवलम् ॥ Similarly the word गर्भिणी formed from गर्भ (belonging to Grāmādi class Phit II. 15), with the affix इनि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine डीष् ॥ If here the affix इनि being udātta causes all the rest syllables anudātta, just at the very moment of its application, without seeing whether the word was a pada or not, then the word गर्भिणी being anudātādī would have taken अञ्, and therefore its exception is proper in the भिक्षादि class

(IV. 2. 38). But if the anudatta-hood of the remaining syllables were to follow *after* a word had got the designation of पद, then the word गर्भिणी would remain acutely accented on the first, and its enumeration in IV. 2. 38 would be useless.

कर्षात्वतो घञो ऽन्त उदात्तः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्षे, अत्यतः, घञः, अन्तः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्षतेर्धातोराकारवतश्च घञन्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

159. A stem formed with the Kṛita-affix घञ् has the acute accent on the end-syllable, if it is formed from the root कृष् (कर्षति) or has a long आ in it.

Thus कर्षेः, पार्श्वेः, स्यानेः, रागेः, रायेः, धार्येः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory झ have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष is used in the aphorism instead of कृष्, to indicate that कृष् of Bhvādi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कृष्-कृषति of Tudādigāṇa. The word कर्षः derived from Tudādi कृष् has acute accent on the first syllable.

उच्छादीनां च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्छादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छ ह्येवमादीनामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

160. The words उच्छ &c. have acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus 1. उच्छैः, 2. म्लेच्छैः, 3. जञ्जैः, 4. जल्पैः ॥ These are formed by घञ्, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. जपैः, 6. बर्षैः are formed by झप् affix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4), these words would have taken the accent of the dhātu (VI. 1. 162), i. e. acute on the first syllable. Some read व्यर्षैः also here. 7. युगैः is derived from युञ्ज् by घञ् affix, the non-causing of guṇa is irregular, and the word means 'a cycle of time', 'a part of a carriage'. In other senses, the form is यौगैः ॥ 8. गरैः = (दुग्धे); is formed by झप्, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. वेगैः, वेदैः, वेष्टैः (वेष्टः), and बन्धैः, करणे ॥ These words are formed by घञ् by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (करण) they take the above accent, when denoting भाव the accent falls on the first syllable. 10. स्तुयुहुवञ्जन्वसि, e. g. परिहृणुन्, परिहृणुन्, संयुन् ॥ 11. वर्त्तनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means Sāma Veda, the word वर्त्तानिः occurring in the Sāma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. भ्रंशे वरः, the दूरैः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by झप् affix it has acute on the first. 13. साम्ब्रतायो भावगर्हायाम्, thus साम्ब्रैः, त्रापैः, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उत्तमशब्दज्ञो सर्वत्र, e. g. उत्तमैः, शुद्धवृत्तमैः ॥ Some read the limitation of भावगर्हा into this also. 15. भक्षमन्यभोगमन्याः (भोगदेशः) ॥ These are formed by घञ्, भक्ष though a प्यन्त root is here घञन्तं ॥

1 उञ्छ, 2 म्लेच्छ, 3 जञ्ज, 4 जल्प, 5 जप, 6 वध (व्यध), 7 युग, 8 गतो वृद्धे, 9 वेद-
वेगवेष्टबन्धाः, (चेष्ट वेष्ट) करणे, 10 स्तुपुद्गुवञ्छन्वसि (परिन्दुन्, संयुन्, परिदुन्), 11 वर्तनिः स्तोत्रे
12 श्वभे वरः, 13 साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ (उत्तमशश्वत्तमशब्दौ) सर्वत्र, 15 भक्षमन्य-
भोगमन्याः (भक्षमन्यभोगवेष्टाः) ॥

अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, यत्र, उदात्त-
लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तते । यस्मिन्नुदात्ते परत उदात्तो लुप्यते तस्यानुदात्तस्यादिशब्दो भवति ॥

161. An unaccented vowel gets also the acute accent, when on account of it the preceding acute is elided.

The word *udāṭṭa* is understood here. Thus कुमारि + ई = कुमारिः ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the last, when the unaccented (*anudāṭṭa*) ङीप् is added to it, the ई is elided (VI. 1. 148), the *anudāṭṭa* ई becomes *udāṭṭa*. So also प्रयिन् + शस् = प्रयैः (VII. 1. 88), प्रयिन् + ए = प्रये, प्रयिन् + आ = प्रायैः ॥ The प्रयिन् has acute on the last. So also कुसुर् + इमत्तुप् = कुसुर्द्विन् (IV. 2. 87), नृद्विन्, वृत्तस्वन् ॥ The words कुसुर् &c, are end-acute, and the affix मत् (वत्) is *anudāṭṭa* (III. 1. 4).

Why 'an *anudāṭṭa* vowel gets &c'. Observe प्रासङ्गः + यन्त = प्रासङ्गयः ॥ (प्रासङ्गं वहात् IV. 4. 76). Here though प्रासङ्ग is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by घञ् with gati) it is followed by य which is svarita (VI. 1. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of ई *udāṭṭa*: but it does not itself become *udāṭṭa*. No, this is not a proper counter-example. For by the general rule of accent VI. 1. 158, when one syllable is ordained to be *udāṭṭa* or svarita, all the other syllables of that word become *anudatta*. Therefore when य is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like ङीप्) will become *anudāṭṭa*. So there is no *lopa* of *udāṭṭa* when य comes. The word अनुदात्त is used to indicate that the *initial* *anudāṭṭa* becomes *udāṭṭa*. Had *anudāṭṭa* not been used, the *sūtra* would have been यत्रोदात्तलोपश्च, which would mean यस्मिन् प्रत्यये परत; उदात्तलुप्यते तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति, for the *anuvritti* of अन्त would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of मा हि धुक्षाताम्, and माहि धुक्षायाम् ॥ From the root दुह we have formed धुक्षाताम् and धुक्षायाम् in the Aorist Atmanepada, dual. दुह् + कर्त्तृ + आताम् = दुह् + स् (VII. 3. 72) + आताम् ॥ Here आताम् causes the elision of the *udāṭṭa* अ of स् ॥ Therefore the *final* of आर्ताम् would be *udāṭṭa*, which is not desired. The augment अ is not added because of मा, had it been added, the अ would have been *udāṭṭa* (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of धुक्षाताम् would have become *anudatta* in माधुक्षाताम् because of तिङ्ङित्तिङः (VIII. 1. 28). See VIII. 1. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word यत्र in the *sūtra*? If it was not employed, then the subsequent *anudāṭṭa* may be such which would not have caused the elision of the previous *udāṭṭa*; such *udāṭṭa* being elided by some other operator, and still such *anudāṭṭa* would have become *udāṭṭa*. Thus in भार्गवः, भार्गवो, भृगवः ॥ Here भृगवः is plural of भार्गवः ॥ The word भार्गव is end-acute and this acute (अण्) was elided in the plural, before the affix जम् was added.

The elision here is not *caused* by जस्, but is a subject of जस् (not निमित्त but विषय). Therefore जस् does not become udātta, which would have been the case, had यच् not been used. प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते गोत्रप्रत्यस्य लुक् ॥ The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say "when an *udātta* is elided"? Observe बिह् + भञ् (IV. 1. 104) = बिह् ॥ The feminine of this will be बिह् + डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = बिही ॥ Here ई causes the elision of auḍātta भ of ह, and hence remains unchanged. So also औ ई ॥

धातोः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्येव । धातोर्न्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. A root has the acute on the end-syllable.

The word अन्त is understood here. Thus पैचति, पैठति, ऊर्णोति, गोपार्यति, योति ॥

चितः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितः, (अन्तः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चितो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

163. A stem (formed by an affix or augment or substitute) having an indicative च्, gets acute on the end syllable.

Thus भृगुरेच्, भासुरेच्, मेदुरेच्. These are formed by घुरच् III. 2. 161. So also कुण्डिनाः by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कुण्डिनच् is employed. To कुण्डि is added हान in the sense of मनुष्य, then is added the feminine affix डीष्, thus कुण्डिनी has middle-acute. The descendants of Kuṇḍini will be कौण्डिन्यः (by यञ् of Gargādi). The plural of Kauṇḍinya will be formed by eliding यञ् and substituting कुण्डिनच् for the remaining portion. In the cases of affixes having an indicative च्, the acute accent falls on the final, taking the stem and the affix in an aggregate. Thus बहुपठुः ॥ The affix बहुच् is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68). The accent will not, therefore, fall on हु, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix + the base. So also with the affix भक्च्. It is added in the *middle* of the word, but the accent will fall on the *end*; as उच्छृङ्खलैः (V. 3. 71).

तद्धितस्य ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितस्य, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्त इत्येव । चितस्तद्धितस्थान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

164. A stem formed with a Taddhita-affix having an indicative च्, has acute on the end syllable.

Thus काञ्जायनाः formed by the affix जफञ् (IV. 1. 98). कुञ्ज + च् फञ् + ञ्य = कौञ्जायन्यः dual कौञ्जायन्यौ, pl. कौञ्जायनाः (ञ्य being elided by II. 4. 62, and thus giving scope to च्फञ् accent). In this affix there are two indicative letters च् and ञ्; the च् has only one function, namely, regulating the accent according to this rule, while ञ् has two functions, one to regulate accent by VI.1. 197, and another to cause Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 117. Now arises the question, should the word get the accent of च् or of ञ् ॥ The present rule declares that it should get

the accent of च and not of अ, for the latter finds still a function left to it, while if अ was to regulate the accent, च would have no scope.

कितः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितस्येयेव । तद्धितस्य कितोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

165. A stem formed by a Taddhita affix having an indicative क, has acute accent on the end syllable.

Thus नाडाग्र्यैः formed by फक् (IV. 1. 99), so also आराग्र्यैः ॥ Similarly भाषिकैः, शालाकिकैः formed by ठक् (IV. 4. 1).

तिसृभ्यो जसः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिसृभ्यः, जसः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृभ्य उच्चरस्य जसोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

166. The Nominative plural (जस्) of तिसृ has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus त्रिर्लक्ष्तिष्ठन्ति ॥ This debars the Svarita accent ordained by VIII.

2. 4. The word तिसृ (feminine of त्रि VII. 2. 99) meaning 'three' is always plural. There are no singular or dual cases of this numeral; of the seven plural cases, the accusative plural will have acute on the final by VI. 1. 174; the remaining cases (Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative) have affixes beginning with a consonant, and by VI. 1. 179 they will be udātta. Thus the only case not covered by any special rule is जस् (nom. pl); which would have been Svarita, but for this rule. If जस् be the only case not provided for, then merely saying तिसृभ्यः would have sufficed to make the rule applicable to जस् only, why has then it been employed in the sūtra? This is done, in order that in compounds, where तिसृ may come as a subordinate member, and where singular and dual endings will also be added, this rule will not apply. Had जस् been not used in this sūtra, then in the case of simple तिसृ there would be no harm, but when it is second member in a compound there would be anomaly. Thus अतितिस्रो would have become end-acute. But that is not desired. It is svarita on the final by VIII. 2. 4.

चतुरः शसि ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुरः, शसि (अन्तःउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुरः शसि परतो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

167. The word चतुर, followed by the accusative plural, has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus चतुरैः पश्य the accent is on तु ॥ The feminine of चतुर् is चतसृ (VII. 2. 99), which has acute accent on the first (VII. 2. 99 Vārt), and its accusative plural will not have accent on the last syllable, This is so, because चतुर् has acute on the first, as formed by उरन् affix. Its substitute चतसृ will also be so, by the rule of स्थानिवत् ॥ The special enunciation of आद्युदात्त with regard to चतसृ in the Vārtika चतसर्थाद्युदात्तनिपातनं कर्तव्यं (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the

present rule does not apply to चतसृ ॥ Another reason for this is as follows: चतसृ + शस् = चतस्र + शस् ॥ Now comes the present Sûtra ; here, however, the र substitute of क् being sthânavat, will prevent the udâtta formation of the श् of त् ; nor will क् be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vowel क् but a consonant र् which cannot take an accent. As चतस्रः पद्य ॥ Professor Bohtlingk places the accent thus चतुर्ः, Pro. Mâx Muller चतुरः ॥ I have followed Prof. Mâx Muller in interpreting this sûtra; for Bohtlingk's interpretation would make the ending शस् accented, and not the final of चतुर् ॥

साधेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, एकाचः, तृतीयादिः, विभक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधिति सप्तमीबहुवचनस्य सुशाब्दस्य ग्रहणम् । तत्र सौ य एकाच् तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्ति-रुशान्ता भवति ॥

168. The case-affixes of the Instrumental and of the cases that follow it have the acute accent, if the stem in the Locative Plural is monosyllabic.

The word सौ (locative of सु) refers to the सु of the Locative plural. Thus वाचा, वाग्ध्याम्, शर्मिः, वाग्ध्याः, शर्मा, वाग्ध्याम्, शर्मिः ॥ Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe रज्ञा, रज्ञे ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe क्षारणा, गिरिणा, रज्जसु ॥ Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe वाँचौ, वाँचः ॥ Why do we say "the case-endings (विभक्तिः)?" Observe वाक्तरा, वाक्ताम् ॥ The plural of the Locative being taken in the sûtra, the rule does not apply to त्वेया and त्वेयि, as in the plural of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in singular locative their stem has one syllable.

अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तोदात्तात्, उत्तरपदात्, अन्यतरस्याम्, अनित्यसमासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् इति वर्तते, तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरिति च । नित्यशब्दः स्वर्यते । तेन नित्याधिकारविहितः समासः पर्युदस्यते । नित्यसमासादन्यत्रानित्यसमासे यदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तमेकाच् तस्मात्परातृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यामुशान्ता भवति ॥

169. The same case endings may optionally have the acute accent, if the monosyllabic word stands at the end of a compound, and has acute accent on the final, when the compound can be easily unloosened.

The phrases "एकाच्" and तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus परमवाँचा or परमवाचौ, परमवाँच or वाचैः ; परमवाँचः or वाचैः ॥ So also परमत्वैचा or त्वचैः &c. According to VI. I. 223, the compounds have acute accent on the final: that rule applies in the alternative when the case-affixes are not acute and gives us

the alternative forms. Why do we say 'is acutely accented on the final'? Observe **अवाचा, सुवाचा, सुत्वचा** ॥ These are Tatpurusha compounds and by VI. 2. 2. the first term of the compound retains its original accent. Why have we used the word 'standing at the end of a compound' when the word **नित्यसमासे** indicated that the compound was meant? Had we not used the word **उत्तर-पदान्**, the aphorism would have stood as, **अन्तोदात्तादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे** 'In a loose-compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable'. The word **एकाचः** will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to **इवोर्के** (श्चन ऊर्के) Ins. **श्वोर्जा, श्वोर्जे** &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose compounds'? Observe **अग्निर्विंता, सोमसुंता** ॥ These words form invariable (nitya) compounds by II. 2. 19, and by VI. 2. 139, the second member retains its original accent, which makes चि udâta.

अञ्चेऽछन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, छन्दसि, असर्वनाम-स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पराऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

170. In the Chhandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanāmasthāna, get the acute accent when coming after **अञ्च** ॥

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word **अञ्च**, has the acute not only on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also. Thus **इन्द्रा इधीर्चो अस्थभिः** (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word **इधीर्च** had accent on धी by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sūtra, the accent falls on the case-affix **अस्** ॥ Though the anuvritti of "Instrumentals and the rest" was understood here, the word asarvanāmasthāna has been used here to include the ending **चस्** also. As **प्रतीर्चो बाहून् प्रतिभङ्ग्येषाम्** ॥

ऊङिदम्पदाद्यपुत्रैद्युभ्यः ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, इदम्, पदादि, अप्, पुम्, रै, युभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङ् इदम् पदादि अर् पुम् रै दिक् इत्येतेभ्योऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

171. The same (asarvanāmasthāna) case-endings have the acute accent, when the stem ends in **वाह्**, also after **इदम्**, after **पद्** &c (upto **निश्** VI. 1. 63), after **अप, पुंस, रै** and **दिक्** ॥

The **ऊङ्** is the substitute of the **वा** of **वाह्** (VI. 4. 132) and not the **ऊङ्** taught in VI. 4. 19 &c. Thus **प्रष्टोहः, प्रष्टोहो**, but not in **अक्षयुषा** (Ins. sing of **अक्षयूः** derived by **ऊङ्** substitution of **व्** in **अक्षयि** VI. 4. 19 &c). **इदम्—आभ्याम्, एभिः** The anuvritti of "**अन्तोदात्ताद्**" is understood here, therefore, when the word

इदम् is not end-acute, this rule will not apply. When, therefore, there is anvádesa under II. 4. 32, the final being anudátta, this rule does not apply, as अथो औभ्यो मिपुणमधीत ॥ The पदादि words are पद्, इत् &c upto निश् in VI. 1. 63. Thus निपूर्वश्चतुरो ऊहि, या व तौधावति, अर्धः पश्यः, अर्द्धः, अर्द्ध्यः, पुंसः, पुम्भ्योम्, पुम्भ्यः, पुंसो, पुंसै, रायैः पश्य, राभ्योम्, राभिः, दिवैः, दिवो, दिवै ॥ As regards the other cases of दिव् the accent is governed by VI. 1. 183. The word असन् and those which follow it, in VI. 1. 63, are not governed by this rule because they consist of more than one vowel, and the anuvritti of एकाचः is understood here from VI. 1. 168. When these become monosyllable by the elision of अ (penultimate), then the vibhakti will be udátta by VI. 1. 161 even after these. The case endings after these words are of course, anudátta, except when these words become monosyllabic:—As श्रीवाचं बद्धो अपि कक्ष आसीनि, मस्थं न शीन उर्देनि क्षियन्तं ॥

अष्टनो दीर्घात् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो शीर्घान्ताइसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिश्चात्ता भवति ॥

172. The asarvanâmasthâna case-endings after अष्टन् 'eight', have acute accent, when it gets the form अष्टा ॥

The word अष्टन् has two forms in the acc. pl. and the other cases that follow it, namely अष्टा and अष्ट ॥ The affixes of acc. pl. &c are udátta after the long form अष्टा and not after अष्ट ॥ Thus अष्टभिः opposed to अष्टैभिः, अष्टाभ्यः con. अष्टैभ्यः, अष्टास्तु con. अष्टैस्तु ॥ The word अष्टैन् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of घन्तादि words (Phit I. 21); and by VI. 1. 180 the accent would have been on the penultimate syllable. This rule debarb it. The use of दीर्घात् indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long अ् faught in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षद् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षद्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षद् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

शतुरनुमो नद्यजादी ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शतुः, अनुमः, नदी, अजादी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोऽश्चाशिति वर्त्तते । अनुम् यः शतुप्रत्ययस्तइन्ताइन्तोऽश्चात्परा नदी अजादिर्विभक्तिरसर्वनामस्थानशुश्चात्ता भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बृहन्महतीरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

173. After an oxytone Participle in अत् the feminine suffix ई,(nadi) and the case endings beginning with vowels

(with the exception of strong cases) have acute accent, when the participial affix has not the augment न् (i. e. is not अन्त्).

The word अन्तेऽश्चात् 'after an oxytoned word' is understood here. Thus तुर्वन्, तुर्वन्, लुन्ती, पुनन्ती, तुर्वन्, लुन्ती, पुनन्ती, तुर्वन्, लुन्ती, पुनन्ती from तुर्वन्, तुर्वन् लुन्न् and पुनन् ॥

Why do we say "not having the augment न्?" Observe तुर्वन्, तुर्वन् ॥ Here also by VI. 1. 186, after the root तुर् which has an indicative अ, in the Dhātupāṭha, being written तुर्, the sārvaadhātuka affix ण् (अन्) is anudatta. This anudatta अन्, coalescing with the udatta अ of तुर् (VI. 1. 162), becomes udatta (VIII. 2. 5); and Rule VIII. 2. 1 not being held applicable here, the Participle gets the accent, and not the feminine affix. Why do we say "a नदी (feminine in ई) word and before vowel-endings?" Observe तुर्वन्-भ्याम्, तुर्वन्-भ्याम् &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As ईदती, ईदती ॥ Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. 1. 189.

Vart:—The words वृहती and महती should also be included: as वृहती महती, वृहती, महती ॥

उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त, यणः, हल्, पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तस्थाने यो यण हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नदी अजावर्याऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ नकारमहणं च कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

174. The same endings have the acute accent, when for the acutely accented final vowel of the stem, a semi-vowel is substituted, and which is preceded by a consonant.

Thus कर्त् + ई = कर्त्री; कर्त्, कर्त्री, कर्त्री, प्रलुब्धो, प्रलुब्धो ॥ प्रलुब्धो, प्रलुब्धो ॥ All these are न्च् ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 163). Why 'acutely accented final vowel is replaced &c'? Observe कर्त्री, कर्त्री, कर्त्री, कर्त्री, formed by न्च् having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe बहुतितुर्वन्—बहुतितुर्वन् ब्राह्मण्या (VIII. 2. 4) बहुनि तितुर्वन् अस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः ॥ This compound with बहु gets udatta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बहुतितुर्वन्, the तुर्वन् is replaced by न्, but as this न् is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

Vart:—The rule applies when the stem ends in न् though not in a semi-vowel, as वारूपणी, चित्पणी ॥

नोङ् धात्वोः ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊङ्, धात्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङो धातोश्च य उदात्तयण हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्पराऽजाव्यसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिर्नोङा भवति ॥

175. But not so, when the vowel is of the feminine affix ऊ (IV. 1. 66), or the final of a root.

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udatta ऊ (IV. 1. 66) or of the udatta final vowels of the root, when preceded by a consonant, the weak case-

endings beginning with a vowel do not take the acute accent. Thus **ब्रह्मबन्ध्या**, **ब्रह्मबन्धे**, **धीरबन्ध्या**, **धीर बन्धे** from **धीरबन्धू**, which has acute accent on ऊ, because ऊम् is udātta (III. 1. 3), and the ekadeśa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udātta (VIII. 2. 5). The **व** substituted for ऊ before the ending **या**, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udātta (**उवात्तयण्**) the affix after it would have become udātta by the last sūtra, but not being so, the general rule VIII. 2. 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (**धातु-यण्**):—**सकृल्ल्या**, **सकृल्ले**; **खल्ले** from **सकृल्लू**, **खल्लू** formed by **क्लिप्** affix, the second member of the compound retaining its original accent, namely, the oxytone, the semi-vowel being substituted by VI. 4. 83 before the vowel case-endings.

ह्रस्वमुडभ्यां मतुप् ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, मुडभ्याम्, मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोऽशत्तादित्येव । ह्रस्वान्तादन्तोऽशत्तान्मुट्प्रपरोमतुड् उदात्तो भवति ॥

प्राक्तिकम् ॥ रेद्यब्बाच्च मतुप् उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चैत्र प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

176. The otherwise unaccented **मत्** (**वत्**) takes the acute accent, when an oxytoned stem ends in a light vowel, or the affix has before it the augment **न्** (VIII. 2. 16).

The word **अन्तोऽशत्तात्** is understood here also. Thus **अग्निर्मान्**, **वायुर्मान्**, **कर्तृर्मान्**, **हर्तृर्मान्** ॥ So also when **मत्** takes **मुट्**, as **अक्षुर्वैता**, **शीर्षुर्वैता** ॥ Here by VII. 1. 76, the word **अक्षि** takes **अनङ्** and becomes **अक्षन्**, then is added **मुट्** by VIII. 2. 16, and we have **अक्षन् न मतुप्** ॥ The preceding **न्** is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodātta) this rule does not apply: as **वैद्यमान्** ॥ The word **वैद्यु** has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from **वस्** with the affix **उ** (Uṇ I. 10) which is **निट्** (Uṇ I. 9) so the **मत्** retains its anudātta here. So also in the case of **महत्मान्**, the affix does not become acute, though the word **महैन्** has acute on the final as the intervening **न्** makes the **उ** of **ह** heavy when the affix is added; the general maxim **ह्यरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत्** does not apply here, because the very fact that **न्** is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vart:—The affix **मत्** becomes acute after the heavy vowel of **रे**: as **आरेर्वैन् = रयिरस्यास्ति** ॥ There is vocalisation of **य** of **रयि**, as **र इ इ** then substitution of one, as **र इ**, then **guṇa, रे** ॥

Vart:—The prohibition should be stated after **चि**: as **त्रिवैतीर्याज्यानु-
ज्ञाक्या भवन्ति** ॥

नामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम, अन्यत्तरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वमहणमनुवर्त्तते मतुडमहणं च । तेन मतुपा ह्रस्वो विधेयते । मतुपि यो ह्रस्वस्तदन्तादन्तोऽश-
त्तादन्यतरस्यां नाम् उदात्तो भवति ॥

177. After an oxytoned stem which ends in a light vowel, the genitive ending **नाम्** has optionally the acute accent,

Thus अग्नीनाम् or अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् or वायूनाम्, कर्तृनाम् or कर्तृनाम् (see VII. 1. 54). It might be objected, that नाम् is not preceded by a short vowel, as is shown in the above examples, then how can the anuvritti of इस्व 'short or light vowel' be read into this sūtra? The reply is that the anuvritti of मतुप् should also be read into this sūtra, the meaning being "a stem which has a light vowel when followed by मतुप्, will cause the नाम् acute, though the light vowel may become heavy before this ending, in its present form". Otherwise, this rule will apply to forms like तिसृणां, चतसृणां having light vowels before नाम् and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम् with the हुद् augment (VII. 1. 54) and not क्ताम्? The rule will not apply to धन्वां वाक्वाम् which get the acute on the final by VI. 1. 174. Why do we say 'after a stem ending in a light vowel'? Observe कुमारीनाम् (the word कुमारी is end-acute by Up III. 138 and so is कुमारी by VI. 1. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe वैपूनाम्, वैसूनाम् the words वपु and वसु have acute on the first syllable.

इयाश्चन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयाः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रूपन्ताच्छन्दासि विषये नाधुनातो भवति बहुलम् ॥

178. In the Chhandas, the ending नाम् has diversely the acute accent after the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus देवसंज्ञानाम् अभिमञ्जतीनाम्, बह्वीनाम् पिता ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as नदीनाम् पारे; जयन्तीनाम् मरुतः ॥

षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, त्रि, चतुर्भ्यः, हलादिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोऽशक्त्यादित्येतिवृत्तम् । षट्संज्ञकेभ्यस्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिभ्योऽपराहलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदा भवति ॥

179. The case-endings beginning with a consonant, have the acute accent after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24), as well as after त्रि and चतुर् ॥

The anuvritti of अन्तोऽशक्ताद् ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like वैचन् and नैवन् which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus सृणां, षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः, पञ्चानां, सप्तानां, त्रिभिः, त्रिभ्यः, चत्वारिणां, चतुर्णां (See VII. 1. 55). Why do we say 'before case-affixes beginning with consonants'? Observe तत्तस्रः पदम् (VI. 1. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

झल्युपोत्तमम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ झलि, उपोत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो या झलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते परे यदुपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति । त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्यदुत्तमं तत्समीपे च यत्तदुपोत्तमम् ॥

180. The above numerals, when taking a case-affix beginning with a भ् or स्, get the acute accent on the penultimate syllable, when the said numerals assume a form consisting of three or more syllables.

The numerals **षट्**, **त्रि** and **चतुर्** when ending in a case-affix beginning with a **हल्** consonant, form a full word (**पद**), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the **पद** must be of three syllables at least. Thus **पंचभिः**, **सप्तभिः**, **तिसृभिः**, **चतुर्भिः** ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with **भ्** and **स्**'? Observe, **पंचानाम्**, **सप्तनाम्** ॥ Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe **षड्भिः**, **षड्भ्यः** ॥

विभाषा भाषायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्चिचतुर्भ्यो या झलारिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते परे उपात्तममुशान् भवति विभाषा भाषायां विषये ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

The **झलारि** case-affixes coming after the above numerals **षट्**, **त्रि** and **चतुर्** may make the words so formed take the acute on the penultimate optionally, in the spoken ordinary language. Thus **पंचभिः** or **पंचभिः** ॥ In the alternative VI. 1. 179 applies. So also **सप्तभिः** or **सप्तभिः**, **तिसृभिः** or **तिसृभिः** ॥

न गोश्चन्त्साववर्णराडङ्कुडकुडभ्यः ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न.गो,श्चन्,सौ अवर्ण, राड्, अङ्, कुड्, कुडभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो श्वन् साववर्ण सौ प्रथमैकवचने यस्ववर्णान्तं राड् अङ् कुड् कुड इत्येतेभ्यो यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

182. The foregoing rules from VI. 1. 168 downwards have no applicability after **गो**, and **श्वन्** and words ending in them; nor after a stem which before the case ending of the Nominative singular has **अ** or **आ**, nor after **रज्**, or after a stem ending in **अङ्**, nor as well as after **कुड्** and **कुट्** ॥

Thus **गौषा**, **गौषे**, **गौष्याम्** ॥ Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also **सुगौषा**, **सुगौषे** and **सुगौष्याम्** ॥ Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also **हौषा**, **हौषे**, **हौष्याम्**, **परमहौषा**, **परमहौषे** and **परमहौष्याम्** ॥ The word **साववर्णः** (सौ अवर्णः) means 'what has **अ** or **आ** before **सु** (1st. sing.)' Thus **येभ्यः**, **तेभ्यः**, **केभ्यः** ॥ **राज्** - **रौजा**, **रौजे**, **परमरौजा** ॥ (The word **राज** is formed by **क्रिप्** affix): **अङ्** = **अङ्च्** + **क्रिन्**; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus **प्राङ्चा**, **प्राङ्चाम्** ॥ Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as **प्राचौ**, **प्राचौ** **प्राचौष्याम्** ॥ **कुड्** is also a **क्रिन्** formed word. Thus **कौड्या**, **कौड्ये**, **परमकौड्या** ॥ **कुट्** is derived from **कृ** 'to do' or from **कृत्** 'to cut' by **क्रिप्**; as **कृता** **कृते** and **परमकृता** ॥ Why has the word **श्वन्** been especially mentioned in this sūtra, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form **श्वा** and consequently it is **साववर्णः**? The inclusion of **श्वन्** indicates that the elision of **न** should not be considered asidhha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like **नृ** and **पितृ** which in Nom. Sing. end in **आ**, as **ना** and **पिता** after the elision of **न्** of **अनङ्** (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of **नृ** will

be नरि by VI. 1. 168, this prohibition not applying, and the affix मनुप् will get udAtta after पिता by VI. 1. 176 as पितृमौन् ॥ But rule VI. 1. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान् because वृक्ष is a सावर्ण्य ॥

दिवो झल् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, झल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः परा झलदिर्विभक्तिर्नोदात्ता भवति ॥

183. After दिव् a case-ending beginning with म or स is unaccented.

Thus दुभ्याम्, दुभिः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a झल् consonant'? Observe दिवौ, दिवे ॥

नृ चान्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्मात्परा झलदिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यां नोदात्ता भवति ॥

184. After नृ, a case ending beginning with म or स is optionally unaccented.

Thus नृभिः or नृभिः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्याम्, नृभ्याम्, नृषु, नृषु ॥ But not so नौ, नै ॥

तित्स्वरितम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्, स्वरितम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्स्वरितं भवति ॥

185. An affix having an indicatory त्, is svarita i. e. has circumflex accent.

Thus चिकीर्ष्यम्, जिह्मिष्यम्, formed by यत् (III. 1. 97). कार्यम्, हार्यम् with प्यत् (III. 1. 124). This is an exception to III. 1. 3 which makes all affixes adyudAtta. For exception to this rule see VI. 1. 213 &c.

तास्यनुदात्तेनङिदुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विङोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, अनुदात्तेत्, ङिद्, अदुपदेशात्, ल, सार्वधातुकम्, अनुदात्तम्, अ-ङु, इङो, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तास्यनुदात्तेतोङितो ङकारान्तोपदेशाच्च ङङात्परं लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तं च भवति हुङ् इङ् इत्यन्ताभ्यां परं वर्जयित्वा ॥

186. The Personal-endings and their substitutes (III. 2. 124-126) are, when they are sârvadhâtuka (III. 4. 113 &c), unaccented, after the characteristic of the Periphrastic future (तासि), after a root which in the Dhâtupâthâ has an unaccented vowel or a ङ् (with the exception of हुङ् and इङ्) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final अ in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadeśa).

Thus तासि :—कर्त्ता, कर्त्तारो, कर्त्तारः, this debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). Anudâtta :—as, आस्—आस्ते, वस्—वस्ते ॥ ङित् :—ष्टुङ्—हृते, षीङ्—येते ॥ अन् उपदेशः :—as हृवतः, हृवतः, पैचतः, पैचतः ॥ A root taking णप् (अ) is considered as

taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters अ and ए are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्थानैकान्तिकत्वं (= अनुबन्धवत्त्वं) ॥ Thus वैचमानः, अञ्जमानः ॥ The augment मुक् is added by आने मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways; *first*, the augment मुक् is added to the final अ of the base (aṅga) when आन (आनच् &c) follows; or *secondly*, the the augment मुक् is added to the base (aṅga) which ends in अ, when आन follows. In the first case मुक् becomes part and parcel of अ and will be taken and included by the enunciation of अ, and therefore अदुपदेश will mean and include an अ having such मुक्, on the maxim अङ्गागमास्तङ्गुणीभूतास्तदमहणेन गृह्यन्ते "That to which an augment is added denotes, because the augment forms part of it, not merely itself, but it denotes also whatever results from its combination with that augment". Therefore मुक् will not prevent the verb becoming अदुपदेश ॥ But if *secondly* मुक् be taken as part of the base which ends in अ, then the लसार्धधातुक does not follow an अदुपदेश, because न intervenes. But we get rid of this difficulty by considering मुक् augment as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, when the Antaranga operation of accent is to be performed. The augment मुक् (म्) in the last two examples consequently does not prevent the application of the rule. Though the affix आनच् has an indicatory च्, yet चित् accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is *subsequent*.

Why do we say after तासि &c. Observe चितुतः चिन्वर्तिः ॥ The vi-karaṇa नु is ङित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though नु is considered as ङित् for the purposes of preventing the guṇa of the prior term चि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word ङित् in this sūtra may be taken as equal to ङिदुपदेश and not the आतिशेधिक ङित् like इतु ॥

Why do we use the word upadeśa? So that the rule may apply to वैचावः, पचामः, but not to हतः, हयः the dual of हन् which ends in न् in upadeśa. though before तस् and यस it has assumed the form ह ॥ Therefore हर्तैः हयैः ॥ Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings)? Observe कतीह वैचमाना formed by आनन् added to पू (III. 2. 128), which not being a substitute of लट्, is not a personal ending like आनच् ॥ Why do we use the word Sārvadhātuka? Observe शिद्ये, शिद्यन्ते, शि-दिष्ये ॥ Why do we say with the exception of हनुङ् and इङ्? Observe हनुतैः, यद् अधीति ॥

आदिः सिचो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, सिचः, अन्यतरस्याम्,

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्त्तते । सिञ्जन्तस्यान्यतरस्यामादिस्सचो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सिच आद्युदात्तत्वे ऽनितः पितः पक्षे उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

187. In सिच् Aorist, the first syllable may option-ally have the acute accent.

The word उदात्त is understood here. Thus ना हि कौटान्, ना हि कौटान्; ना हि लाविद्याम् or ना हि लाविद्याम् ॥ In the last example the accent is on पि; and the

reason why मा and हि are used in these illustrations, has already been explained in VI. 1. 161. The indicatory च् of सिच् shows that by VI. 1. 163 the acute will be on the otherwise unaccented augment इद्, when it takes this augment. The सिच् being a बलादि affix will take the augment इद् (VII. 2. 35), and it is a general rule that augments are unaccented; so in the above the वि would have been unaccented, and the accent would have been on the final, but for the indicatory च् of सिच्, which otherwise would find no scope. Thus वि gets acute.

Vart:—An affix having an indicatory ए (पिन्) when coming after an Aorist formed by सिच् without the augment इद् (अनिद् सिच्) is in one alternative udātta (in the other, it is non-acute). This vārtika restricts the scope of the sūtra with regard to पिन् affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dhātu-accent, namely, acute on the first, for पिन् is anudātta. Thus माहि कौर्यम् or मा हि कौर्यम् ॥ But when it takes the इद् augment, there are two forms (1st.) मा हि लौषिष्म् as a तिङन्त, (2nd.) मा हि लार्षिष्म् accent on वि (VI. 1. 163). but never मा हि लार्षिष्म् ॥ When however the augment अ is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपादिर्हिसामच्यनिदि ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपादि, हिंसाम, अचि, अनिदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लसार्वाधातुकप्रहणं यदनुवर्तते तदच्यनिदीति सम्बन्धादिह सप्तम्यन्तं भवति स्वपादीनां हिसेष्वाजा-
शवनिदि लसार्वाधातुके परतोऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

188. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable when a Personal-ending, being a Sārvadhātuka tense affix beginning with a vowel, provided that the vowel is not the augment इद्, follows after स्वप् &c, or after हिस् ॥

The phrase लसार्वाधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वैषन्ति or स्वपन्ति, अशन्ति or अर्त्तन्ति, हिंसन्ति or हिर्त्तन्ति ॥ The accent on the middle falls by the accent of the affix III. 1. 3. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe स्वप्यान्, हिर्स्यान् ॥ Why do we say 'not taking the augment इद्?' Observe स्वपितैः and अशितैः ॥ This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are ङिन्; it does not apply to स्पानि, हिर्त्तानि ॥

अभ्यस्तानामादिः ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तानाम्, आदिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तानामजाशवनिदि लसार्वाधातुके परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

189. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of the reduplicate verbs when followed by an affix beginning with a vowel (the vowel being not इद्) and being a sārva dhātuka personal ending.

Thus वैशति, वैवतु, वैधति, वैधतु, जैशति, जैशतुः, जौषति, जौषतुः ॥ Before consonant affixes: द्यौन् ॥ Before सेद् affixes:—अक्षितैः ॥ Though the word आदि was

understood here from the last aphorism, the repetition is for the sake of making this an *invariable* rule and not an *optional* rule as those in the foregoing.

अनुदात्ते च ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानोदात्ते च लसार्वधातुके परतोऽभ्यस्तानामादिरूपात्तो भवति ॥

190. Also when the unaccented endings of the three persons in the singular follow, the first syllable of the reduplicate has the acute.

The endings लिप् लिप् and मिप् are anudatta (III. 1. 4). This sūtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus ईहाति, जहाति, ईधाति, जिहीते, मिमीते ॥ The word अनुदात्त is to be construed here as a Bahuvrīhi i. e. an affix in which there is no udatta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted : as मा हि स्म ईधात्, and ईधात्यग्र ॥

सर्वस्य सुपि ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वस्यस्य सुपि परत आदिरूपात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वस्वरोऽनकच्छस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. The acute is on the first syllable of सर्व when the case-endings follow.

Thus सर्वः, सर्वाः सर्वे ॥ Why do we say when the *case-endings* follow ? Observe सर्वतरः, सर्वतमः the acute is on व ॥ The word सर्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the Uṇādi list by निपातन् ॥ It thus being anudattādi takes the affix अम् and forms सर्वः (सर्वस्य विकारः) This rule applies even when the case affix is elided in spite of the prohibition of न लुपताद्गत्य (I. 1. 63) : as सर्वस्तोमः ॥

Vādāt:—The rule does not apply when the affix अकच् is put in : as सर्वकः ॥ Here the accent is on the final by चित् accent (VI. 1. 163).

भीहीभृहुमदजनधनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, जागराम्, प्रत्ययात्, पूर्वम्, पिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी ही भृ हु मद् जन धन दरिद्रा जागृ इत्येतेषामभ्यस्तानां लसार्वधातुके पिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वपदान् भवति ॥

192. In भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, and जागृ, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sār-vadhātuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पित्), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus बिभेति, जिहति, बिभेति, जुहोति, मनेचु नः परिज्जा ॥ Here the root मृ has diversely taken in the Chhandas the vikaraṇa भृ, though it belongs to Divādi class. जर्जेनत्, इन्द्रम् ॥ The verb is here लृट् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example. इधनत् from धन धान्ये,

the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अद् being added by III. 4. 94. वधेनत्, वरिद्वीति, जार्गेति ॥ In the case of other verbs we have वैशति ॥ Before affixes which have not the indicatory ए (i. e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as वरिद्वीति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमवाचं भवति ।

193. The acute accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding the affix that has an indicatory ल् ॥

Thus चिकीर्षकः, जिहीर्षकः with the affix ण्वल् (III. 1. 133), भेरिक्रिबिधम् and ऐषुकारिभक्तम् with the affixes विधल् and भक्तल् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the क्रि and रि ॥

आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, णमुलि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः । णमुलि परतोऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुवाचो भवति ।

194. The first syllable may be optionally acute when the absolutive affix णमुल् follows.

Thus लोलूयम् or लोलूयम् ॥ In the reduplicate form लोलू, the second part लू is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present sūtra makes लो accented. When लो is not accented, लू will get the accent by लिन् accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutes, namely to reduplicated Absolutes (VIII. 1. 4).

अचः कर्तृयकि ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्तृ-यकि ॥

वृत्तिः । उपदेश इति वृत्तंते । भजन्ता ये उपदेशे धातवस्तेषां कर्तृयकि अन्यतरस्यामादिरुवाचो भवति ।

195. The roots which are exhibited in Dhātu-pāṭha with a final vowel, may optionally have the acute on the first syllable, before the affixes of the Passive (यक्), when the sense of the verb is Reflexive.

The word उपदेश is understood here. Thus लूयते or लूयते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ स्तीर्यते or स्तीर्यते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on य (VI. 1. 186). This rule applies to जन्, खन्, and सन् when they get the form जायते, सायते and खायते; the long आ (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhātupāṭha with long आ ॥ Thus जायते or जायते स्वयमेव सायते or सायते स्वयमेव; खायते or खायते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a vowel'? Observe भिर्यते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is Reflexive (कर्तृ)'? Observe लूयते केशरो देवदत्तेन ॥

थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, इडन्तः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेटि थलि इट वा उवाचो भवति भन्तो वा भाविर्वा अन्यतरस्याम् ।

196. Before the ending थ् of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment इ; the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this इ, or on the personal ending.

Thus लुलविथ्, लुलैविथ्, लुलविथ्यै, and लुलविथ्यै. As थल् has an 'indicatory इ, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. 1. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with इथ् termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the थ् is not सेट्, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by लिट् accent (VI. 1. 193):—ययौथ् ॥

अनित्यादिर्नित्यम् ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिति, आदिः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिति निति च नित्यमादिहस्तो भवति ।

197. Whatever is derived with an affix having an indicatory झ् or ण्, has the acute accent invariably on the first syllable.

Thus गर्ग्य with यस् (IV. 1. 105), वैखुर्वकः, अर्जुनकः with वुन् (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. 1. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i. e. the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. 1. 62. Therefore गर्गाः, बिर्गाः, चर्चोः having lost यस्, वस्, and कन्, have lost their accent also.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्यादिहस्तो भवति ।

198. The first syllable of a Vocativo gets the acute accent.

Thus वैवश्च !, वैवश्चो !, वैवश्चो ! ॥ This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a लुभान् word (लुभु, लुप् or लु), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. 1. 63. As सैषिण-गच्छ ! सैषा गच्छत ! ॥

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथोः, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथिशब्दादौणादिकादिनिप्रत्ययान्तौ प्रत्ययसंरूपान्ताशक्तौ तयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आदि-हस्तो भवति ।

199. The acute accent is on the first syllable of पथिन् and मथिन् when followed by a strong case-ending.

The words पथिन् and मथिन् are derived by the Unâdi affix इति, (IV. 12. and 13) and are oxytone by III. 1. 3. They become âdyudâtta before strong cases. Thus पैग्याः, पैग्यानो, पैग्यानः, मैग्याः, मैग्यानो, मैग्यानः ॥ Before other cases we have:—पयैः पदय, मयैः पदय ॥ The accent is on the final by VI. 1. 162, there being elision of the udâtta इन् ॥ The rule I. 1. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पथिर्मिथः, has acute on the final of the first

word, by retaining its original accent.

अन्तश्च तवै युगपत् ॥ २०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च, तवै, युगपत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवेप्रत्ययान्तस्यान्तश्चशब्दादिश्च युगपदुदात्तो भवतः ।

200. The Infinitive in तवै has the acute on the first syllable and on the last syllable at one and the same time.

Thus कैतवै, हैतवै ॥ This is an exception to III. 1. 3 by which त of तवै ought to have got the accent, and it also countermands rule VI. 1. 158 by which there can be only a single acute in a single word.

क्षयो निवासे ॥ २०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षयः, निवासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षयशब्दे निवासे ऽभिधये आद्युदात्तो भवति ।

201. The word क्षय has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of 'house, dwelling'.

Thus क्षये जागृहि प्रपश्यन् ॥ The word is formed by च affix (III. 1. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. 1. 3). When not meaning a house we have: क्षयो वर्तते दृष्टुनाम् ॥ The word is formed by अच् (III. 2. 31),

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जयशब्दः करणवाची आद्युदात्ता भवति ॥

202. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of जय, in the sense of 'whereby one attains victory'.

Thus जैयोऽश्च, but otherwise जयो वर्तते ब्राह्मणानाम् ॥ The former जय is by च affix, (III. 1. 118) the second by अच् (III. 2. 31) ॥

वृषादीनां च ॥ २०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषादीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृष इत्यवमादीनामादिशब्दात्तो भवति ॥

203. The words वृष &c have the acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1. वृष्टः, 2. जैतुः, 3. जैरुः, 4. घृष्टः, 5. हैष्टः, 6. गैष्टः ॥ These are formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The word गय is from गै-गायते, irregularly it is treated as गे ॥ 7. नष्टः, 8. ताष्टः, 9. तष्टः, 10. चष्टः, 11. भष्टः, 12. वेष्टः, 13. सूष्टः, 14. वृष्टः (formed by अच् numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kāśika). सूष्ट is formed by क (III. 1. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. गुह्य (formed by अङ् III. 3. 104). 17. क्षमरणां संज्ञायां संमतौ भावकर्मणोः :— क्षमः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by अच् III. 1. 134), 19. क्षान्तिः formed by क्तिच्, 20. क्रामः, 21. घामः, both formed by घञ्, 22. आरा, 23. धारा, 24. कारा, (all three formed by अङ् III. 3. 104), 25. यद् = गोचरादिषु formed by घञ् 26. कल्पः, 27. पादः formed by घञ्, which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. 1. 159, 28. पयः, 29. दवः ॥ It is आकृतिगणः ॥ All words which are acutely accented on the first, should be considered as belonging to this class, if their accent cannot be accounted for by any other rule.

1 वृषः, 2 जनः, 3 ऊवर 4 महः 5 हयः, 6 गयः, 7 नयः, 8 ताय*, 9 तयः, 10 चयः*, 11 भयः*, 12 वेदः, 13 मूढः°, 14 भंशः, 15 गुहा, 16 शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावक्रमणोः, 17 मन्त्रः, 18 शान्तिः, 19 कामः, 20 यामः, 21 आरा, 22 धारा, 23 कारा, 24 वहः, 25 कल्पः, 26 पादः 27 पयः, 28 ह्वः, 29 आकृतिगण ॥

संज्ञायामुपमानम् ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानशब्दः संज्ञायामाद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

204. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus चञ्च्, वैघ्निका, खरकुटी, शैली ॥ All these are उपमान words used as names of the उपमेय (the thing compared). The affix कन् (V. 3, 96) is elided here by V. 3, 98. It might be asked when कन् is elided, its mark, namely causing the first syllable to be acute (VI. 1. 197), will remain behind by virtue of I. 1. 62, where is then the necessity of this sūtra. The formation of this sūtra indicates that the प्रत्ययलक्षण rule is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have अग्रिर्माणवकः ॥ When it is not an upamāna we have देवदर्शनः (VI. 2. 148).

निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात् ॥ २०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, च, द्व्यच्, अनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च द्व्यच् संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तं भवति चेदादिराकारो न भवति ॥

205. A disyllabic Participle in त (Nishṭhā), when a Name has the acute on the first syllable, but not if the first syllable has an आ ॥

Thus शूतः, शूद्रः, ईक्षः ॥ This debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have देवैः, भीमैः ॥ In polysyllabic Participles we have चिन्तितैः, रक्षितः ॥ In Participles having long आ in the first syllable, we have, चार्तैः, भार्तैः ॥ When the Participle is not a Name we have, कर्तृम्, हर्तृम् ॥

शुष्कधृष्टौ ॥ २०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क, धृष्टौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिश्रुतं इति वर्त्तते । शुष्क धृष्ट इत्येतावाद्युदात्तौ भवतः ॥

206. Also शूष्क and धृष्ट have acute on the first syllable.

These are non-Names. Thus शूष्कः and धृष्टः ॥

आशितः कर्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशितः, कर्ता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दः कर्तृवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

207. The word आशित meaning 'having eaten' has acute on the first syllable.

Thus आशितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta, having eaten'. Here it is used as an active participle. The क्त is added to अश् followed by आ, to form both Active and Passive Participles: which by VI. 2. 144 would have taken acute on the final. This debars that. In the Passive Participle we have आशितं देवदत्तेन 'eaten by Devadatta'. आशितं मन्त्रम् 'the eaten food'. The former is भावे क्त, the second is कर्मणि क्त ॥

रिक्ते विभाषा ॥ २०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिक्ते, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिक्तशब्दे विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

208. The word रिक्त may have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus रिक्तः or रिक्तेः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 204 and 205.

जुष्टार्पिते च छन्दसि ॥ २०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुष्ट, अर्पिते, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे छन्दसि विषये विभाषा आद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

209. In the Chhandas, the words जुष्ट and अर्पित have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टः or जुष्टेः ; अर्पितः or अर्पितेः ॥ In the secular literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).

नित्यं मन्त्रे ॥ २१० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे मन्त्रविषये नित्यमाद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

210. In the Mantras, these words जुष्ट and अर्पित have always the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्ट देवानामर्पितं पितृणाम् ॥ Some say that this rule applies only to जुष्ट and not to अर्पित ; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra : so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even : e. g. तस्मिन्साकं त्रिधाता न शक्योर्पितौ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्डासि ॥ २११ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः, डसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदी मदिक्प्रत्ययान्ते ऽन्ताशान्ते तयोर्डासि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

211. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are मम and तव, and not मे and ते ॥ Thus मेम स्वम्, तैव स्वम् ॥ The word युष्मद् and अस्मद् are derived from युष् and अस् by adding the affix मदिक् (Un I. 139) युष्मद् + ऋत् = युष्मद् + अश् (VII. 1. 27) = तव अद् + अश् (VI. 2. 96) = तवै + ईश् (VII. 2. 90) = तव (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udātta, the present sūtra makes त udātta. So also with मम ॥

ङयि च ॥ २१२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङयि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोरिति वर्तते, आदिरुदात्त इति च । इत्येतस्मिन् परतो युष्मदस्मदोरदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

212. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Dative Singular.

Thus तुभ्यम् and मैहम्, the forms त् and मे are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sūtras is for the sake of preventing the application of यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). Had the sūtra been युष्मद्भ्यश्च ईङ्ङां, then yushmad in the Dative, and asmad in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोऽनावः ॥ २१३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, अनावः ॥

वृत्तिः । निष्ठा च द्व्यजनादित्यतो द्व्यङ्महणमनुवर्त्तते । यत्पत्ययान्तस्य द्व्यच आदिरुदात्तो भवति न चञ्चौ-
शब्दात्परो भवति ।

213. Whatever is formed by the affix यत्, has, if it is a disyllabic word, the acute on the first syllable, with the exception of नाव्यः from नौ ॥

The word द्व्यच् is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus चैयम्, जैयम् (III. 1. 97); कैष्यम्, औष्यम् (V. 1. 6). This rule debar the Svarita accent required by तित् (VI. 1. 185) ॥ But नौ—नाव्यम् ॥ The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus:—चिकीर्ष्यम्, ललाय्यम् ॥

ईडवन्द्वृशंसदुहां ण्यतः ॥ २१४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड, वन्द, वृ, शंस्, दुहाम्, ण्यतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईड वन् वृ शंस दुह इत्येतेषां या ण्यत् तदन्तस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of ईड, वन्द, वृ, शंस् and दुह, when they are followed by the affix ण्यत् ॥

Thus ईड्यम्, वैन्द्यम्, वौर्यम्, शैस्यम्, शौह्या धेनुः ॥ The two letters ण् and त् being indicatory, the 'nyat' is not included in 'yat' of the last sūtra. The accent would be regulated by त् ॥ The accent of त् however is debarred by this rule. The वृ in the sūtra is वृह् संभक्तौ of Kriyadi class: the वृम् of स्वादि class takes kyap affix. See III. 1. 109.

विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः ॥ २१५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेणु, इन्धानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेणु इन्धाने इत्येतयोर्विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ।

215. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable of वेणु and इन्धान ॥

Thus वेणुः or वेणुँ; इन्धानः or इन्धानँ or इन्धाने ॥ The word वेणु is derived by the Uṇādi affix णु (III. 38), which being a नित् would always have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word इन्धान, if it is formed by चानच्, it will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by शानच्, the affix being a sārvaadhātuka is anudātta, and as it replaces udātta final of the root, it becomes udātta (VI. 1. 161), and thus इन्धान gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When वेणु is used as an upamāna वेणुरिव वेणुः, then it is invariably acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204).

त्यागरागहासकुहश्वठक्रथानाम् ॥ २१६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, क्रथानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । त्याग राग हास कुह श्वठ क्रथ इत्येतेषां विभाषा भाषित्वात्तो भवति ।

216. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, and क्रथ ॥

Thus त्यागः or त्यागैः, रागः, हासः, हासैः ॥ These are formed by यम् affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुहैः, श्वठः or श्वठैः, क्रथः or क्रथैः formed by अच् (III. 1. 13).

उपोत्तमं रिति ॥ २१७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपोत्तमम्, रिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिन्तस्थोपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति । त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यमुत्तमं तस्य समीपे यत्तदुपोत्तम् ।

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicative र, has acute on the penultimate syllable, the full word consisting of more than two syllables.

A penultimate syllable can be only in a word consisting of three syllables or more. Thus कर्णेयम् and हरणेयम् formed by अनीयद् (III. 1. 96); पदुजातीयः, वृदुजातीयः by जातीयर् (V. 3. 19). This debars III. 1. 3.

चङ्चन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङन्ते अन्यतरस्यामुपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति ।

218. The acute accent may be optionally on the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated Aorist in चङ्, the word consisting of more than two syllables.

Thus मा हि चीक्रेताम् or चीक्रेताम् ॥ The augment अद् is elided by the addition of मा, VI. 4. 74; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. 1. 34 then comes the चित् accent of चङ् ॥ The augmented form with अद् has acute always on the first syllable VI. 4. 71. When the word is of less than three syllables, the rule does not apply, as, माहि इधेत् ॥

मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम् ॥ २१९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः, पूर्वम्, आत्, संज्ञाया-
म, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतोः पूर्वं आकार उदात्तो भवति तद्धन्मत्सन्तं स्त्रीलिङ्गं संज्ञा भवति ।

219. The आ before the affix मत् has the acute accent, when the word is a name in the Feminine Gender.

Thus अदुम्बरीवती, पुष्करिणीवती, शरीरवती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. शरीरवती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe इक्षुमती, वृमवती ॥ The words इक्षु Un. III. 157 and वृम (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on मत् by VI. 1. 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe खट्वावती ॥ खट्वा is formed by कृत् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say in

the Feminine Gender? Observe **रावाच्** ॥ Why do we say when followed by **मत्**? Observe **गवादिनी** ॥

अन्तो ऽवत्याः ॥ २२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, अवत्याः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामित्येव । अवतीशब्दान्तस्य संज्ञायामन्त उदात्तो भवति ।

220. The Names ending in **अवती** have the acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus **अजिर्वती^३, खडिर्वती^३, हंसवती^३, कारण्डवती^३** ॥ These words being formed by **ङीप्** would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use **अवती** and not **वती**? Then the rule would apply to **राजवती** also, for this word is really **राजन्वती** ending in **अन्वती**, the subsequent elision of **न्** is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of **म** into **व** (**मत् = वत्**) is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्याः ॥ २२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईवत्याः, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईवतीशब्दान्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति स्त्रियां संज्ञायां विषये ।

221. The Names ending in **ईवती** have the acute on the last syllable.

Thus **अहीवती^३, कृषीवती^३, हुनीवती^३** ॥
चौ ॥ २२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चात्रित्यङ्चतिर्लुप्तनकारे गृह्यते । तस्मिन्परतः पूर्वस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।
वार्त्तिकश्च ॥ चात्रतद्धितइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

222. In compound words ending in **अञ्च्**, the final vowel of the preceding word has the acute accent in the weak cases in which only **च्** of **अञ्च्** remains.

Thus **हृषीचः पश्य; हृषीचा, हृषीचेः मधूचः पश्य, मधूचा, मधूचे** ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vart:—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As **राधीचैः**.
वाधूचैः ॥ Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

समासस्य ॥ २२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासस्य, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समासस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

223. A compound word has the acute on the last syllable.

Thus **राजपुरुषैः, ब्राह्मणकम्बलैः, कन्याखनैः, पटहशर्बैः, नदीधोरैः, राजदृष्टैः, ब्राह्मणसर्मिन्** ॥ The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent, the *udatta* will fall on the vowel though it may not be final, the final being a consonant. The exceptions to this rule will be mentioned in the next chapter.

षष्ठाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, प्रकृत्या, पूर्वपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदमहणमत्र पूर्वपदस्ये स्वरं उदात्ते स्वरिते वा वर्त्तते । बहुव्रीहौ समासे पूर्वपदस्य यः स्वरः स प्रकृत्या भवति, स्वभावेनावतिष्ठते, न विकारमनुवात्तत्वमापद्यते ॥

I. In a Bahuvrīhi, the first member preserves its own original accent.

The word पूर्वपदम् means here the accent—whether udātta or svarita—which is in the first member : प्रकृत्या means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudātta accent. By the rule VI. 1. 223, the final of a compound gets the accent, so that all the preceding members lose their accent and become anudātta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one. VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrīhi would have lost its accent and become anudātta; with the present sūtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udātta. Thus कर्णोत्तरासङ्गाः ॥ The word कर्ण is derived by the Taddhita affix ञम् (IV. 3. 154) from कृष्ण 'a kind of antelope;' and has the णिन् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also रूपवल्जः; the word रूप is derived from रु by the Unādi affix ण् (Un III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Un III. 25) and the affix is treated as णिन् (Un III. 26), and hence the word is acutely accented on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). So also ब्रह्मचारिपरिस्कन्दः; the word ब्रह्मचारिन् has a Kṛt-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also स्नातकपुत्रः, the word स्नातक is derived by कन् (V. 4. 29) affix and has णिन् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. udātta on the first syllable. So also अध्यापकपुत्रः, the word अध्यापक is accented on the middle as it is formed by a लिन् affix (III. 1, 133, VI. 1. 193). श्रोत्रियपुत्रः, the श्रोत्रिय being enounced with an indicative न् in Sūtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. मनुष्यनाथः, the word मनुष्य being formed by यन् (IV. 1. 161) a तिन् affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185),

The words udātta and svarita are understood in this aphorism, Therefore if *all* the syllables of the pûrvapada are anudātta, the present rule has no scope there, and such a compound will get udātta on the final by the universal rule enunciated in VI. 1. 223. Thus समभागौ, here सम being *all* anu-
dātta, the accent falls on ग ॥

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-
पुरुषे, तुल्यार्थ, तृतीया, सप्तमी, उपमान, अव्यय, द्वितीया, कृत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समाप्ते तुल्यार्थे तृतीयात्तं सप्तम्यन्तुपमानवाचि अव्यये द्वितीयात्तं कृत्यान्तं च यत्पूर्वपदं
तत्प्राकृतस्वरं भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अव्यये न म्कुनिपातानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

2. In a Tatpuruṣa, the first member preserves its original accent, when it is a word (1) meaning “a resemblance”, or (2) an Instrumental or (3) a Locative or (4) a word with which the second member is compared, (5) or an Indeclinable, or (6) an Accusative, or (7) a Future Passive Participle.

Thus (1) तुल्यश्वेतः, तुल्यलोहितः, तुल्यमहान्, सहैकच्छ्रेतः, सहैग्लोहितः, सहैग्लमहान् ॥ These are Karmadhāraya compounds formed under II. 1. 68 : and तुल्य being formed by चत् is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 216). The word सहश्च is formed by क्तिन् (III. 2. 60 Vārt), and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also सहैग्लश्वेतः सहैग्ललोहितः, सहैग्लमहान् ॥ The word सहैग्ल is formed by कश्च added to हश्च, and by VI. 1. 197 the accent falls on ह (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as :—शंकुलया खण्डः = शंकुलो-
खण्डः, so also किरिकाणः (II. 1. 30) शंकुल is derived from शंकु + ला ॥ To the root ला is added the affix क with the force of घञ्, and thus the noun ला is udātta ; or the whole word शंकुल is a word formed by क्तिन् affix and hence VI. 1. 165 applies and is final-acute. किरिः is formed by the Uṇādi affix इ to कृ (Uṇ. IV. 143), and it being treated as a क्तिन् (Uṇ. IV. 142) has udātta on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as :—अक्षेष्टे शोण्डः = अक्षेष्टशोण्डः, so also पानशोण्डः ॥ The word अक्ष is formed by the affix क्ष added to अक्ष (Uṇ. III. 65), and is final acute (III. 1. 3). The word पान is formed by ह्यङ् affix added to प, and is acute on the first (VI. 1. 193) owing to the लिट् accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as :—सर्वाक्षिद्याना, कुसुमद्वयेनी, हंसगङ्गा, न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला, पूर्वा-
कोण्डक्ष्याना, शरकण्डगौरी ॥ These compounds are formed by II. 1. 55. सर्वाक्षि is formed by क्षिप् and is final-acute ; कुसुम is formed by क्तिन् affix (कौ मोक्षे = कुसुम) see III. 2. 5. Vārt : and is acutely accented on the first, or by Phit sūtra II. 3 it has acute on the first. हंस is formed by the Uṇādi affix स added to हन्

(Uṇ. III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्यघोहति = न्यघोषः formed by अच् (III. 1. 134), and ह is irregularly changed into घ as Pāṇini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5) : and it is accented in the middle. The words घूर्वाकाण्ड, घोरकाण्ड are Genitive Tatpuruṣa, and their second member has accent on the first syllable (VI. 2. 135). (5) When the first member is an Indeclinable, as, अद्वाहणः, अद्घुषलः, कुम्भाहणः, कुम्भुषलः ॥ निष्कोशाश्विः, निर्वाराणसि, अतिखट्वः, अतिमालः ॥ All these Indeclinable compounds have udātta on the first. they are formed by II. 2. 5 &c.

Vart :—In cases of Indeclinable compounds. the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle अ, by कु, and by Particles (nipāta). Though नञ् is one of the Nipātas, its separate mention indicates that नञ्-accent debar even the subsequent कृन्-accnt as अकरणिः ॥ Therefore, it does not apply here स्नात्वाकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravyñsakādi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as :—मुहूर्तमुखम्, मुहूर्तरमणीयम्, सर्वरात्रिकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रिशोभना ॥ They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त belongs to पृषोदरादि class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वरात्रि is formed by the samāsanta affix अच् and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kṛitya-formed word, as, भोज्यलवणम्, भोज्योष्णम्, पानीयशीतम्, हरणीयचूर्णम् (II. 1. 68). भोज्य is formed by ण्यत् and has svarita on the final : पानीय and हरणाय are formed by अनीयत् and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i. e. on र्ङ् ॥

वर्णोवर्णेष्वनेते ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेषु, अनेते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं, तत्पुरुषइति च वर्तते । वर्णे वर्णवाच्यं पूर्वपदं वर्णवाच्येवोत्तरपदेषु एतद्यञ्वाचि-
तेषु परतस्तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

3. The first member of a Tatpuruṣa preserves its original accent, when a word denoting color is compounded with another color denoting word, but not when it is the word एत ॥

Thus कृष्णसारङ्गो, लोहितसारङ्गो, कृष्णकल्माषः, लोहितकल्माषः ॥ कृष्ण is formed by षक् affix (Uṇ. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तन् added to रुह् (Uṇ. III. 94) and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'color-denoting word, ? Observe परमकृष्णः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'with another color denoting word' ? Observe कृष्णतिलैः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'but not when it is एत' ? Observe कृष्णतैः, लोहिततैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II.1. 69.

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाध, लवणयोः, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमा णवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे गाध लवण इत्येतयोत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

4. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is गार्ध or लवण, and the compound expresses a 'measure or mass'.

Thus शैम्बगाधमुदकम्, अरिषगाधमुदकम् 'water as low or fordable as a Samba or an Aritra i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. गोलवणम्, शैम्बलवणम् 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. शम्ब is formed by adding वन् to शम् (Uṇ. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). अरिष is formed by the affix इष added to अरि (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3): गो is formed by डो (Uṇ. II. 68) and has acute on the final ओ; शम्ब is formed by वन् affix added to शम् (Uṇ. I. 151), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The word प्रमाण here denotes 'quantity', 'measure', 'mass', 'limit', and not merely the length. The power of denoting measure by these words is here indicated by and is dependent upon accent.

When not denoting प्रमाण we have परमगार्धम् and परमलवणम् ॥

दायाद्यं दायान् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दायान्, दायान् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे दायान्द्वयउत्तरपदे दायान्द्वयानि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्त्वं भवति ॥

5. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word दायान् as its second member, the first member denoting inheritance preserves its original accent.

Thus विद्यादायान्, धनदायान् ॥ The word विद्या is formed by the affix क्यप् (III. 3. 99) which is udātta (III. 3. 96). The word धन is derived by adding क्यु to धाम् (Uṇ. II. 81). Though the Uṇādi Sūtra II. 81 ordains क्यु after the root धा preceded by नि, yet by बहुल (III. 3. 1) rule it comes after धा also when it is not preceded by नि and धन has acute on the first (III. 1. 3).

In the forms विद्यादायान् &c, what Genitive case has been taken? If it is the Genitive case which the word दायान् requires by Rule II. 3. 39, then by the Vārtika प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यते (II. 2. 10 Vart), there can be no compounding. The Genitive case there is the ordinary Genitive case of II. 3. 50. i. e. a द्वैषिक Genitive case, and not a प्रतिपद Genitive. If it is a द्वेषलक्षण Genitive case, then why the other Genitive case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to दायान् &c. That sūtra only indicates the existence of the Locative case in the *alternative*, and does not prevent the Genitive. In fact, had merely Locative been ordained in that sūtra, this particular case would have prevented the Genitive on the maxim that a particular rule debar the general. But the employment of both terms Genitive and Locative in that sūtra indicates the *alternative* nature of the rule and shows that the Genitive case so taught is not a प्रतिपद Genitive, but a general Genitive. In short the Genitive taught in II.

3. 39, is not an apûrva-vidhi, the words naturally would have taken Genitive; the taking of the Locative is the only new thing taught there.

Why do we say 'when meaning inheritance'? Observe परमदायार्हः (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिबन्धि, चिर, कृच्छ्रयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे चिरकृच्छ्रयोरुत्तरपदयोः प्रतिबन्धिवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

6. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the words चिर or कृच्छ्र as its second member, the first member, when it denotes that which experiences an obstacle, preserves its original accent.

Thus गमनचिरम्, गमनकृच्छ्रम्, व्याहरणचिरम् or व्याहरणकृच्छ्रम् ॥ The words गमन and व्याहरण are formed by ल्युट् affix, and have लिट् accent (VI. 1. 193). This compound belongs either to the class of Mayûra-vyañsakâdi (II. 1. 72), or of an attribute and the thing qualified. When *going* to a place is *delayed* owing to some defective arrangement or cause, or becomes *difficult*, there is produced an *obstacle* or hinderance, and is called गमनचिरं or गमनकृच्छ्रं ॥ Why do we say 'which experiences a hinderance'? Observe मुञ्चकृच्छ्रम् ॥

पदेऽपदेशे ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदे, अपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदेशो व्याजस्तद्वाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पदशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

7. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word पद denoting 'a pretext'.

The word अपदेश means 'a pretext', 'a contrivance'. Thus ह्युपदेन प्रस्थितः, उच्चार्यपदेन प्रस्थितः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूत्र is derived by adding the affix इन् to the root मुञ्च, the ऊ being substituted for उच् of मुच्, (Un. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197) or it may be a word formed by घञ् to the root मूत्रयति ॥ The word उच्चार is also formed by घञ् and by VI. 2. 144 has acute on the final. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72 or it is an attributive compound.

Why do we say "when meaning a pretext?" Observe विष्णोः पदम् = विष्णुपदम् ॥

निवाते वातत्राणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवाते, वात-त्राणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवातशब्दउत्तरपदे वातत्राणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वं पदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

8. In a Tatpurusha compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word निवात in the sense of 'a protection from wind'.

Thus कुञ्च्येन निवातं = कुञ्च्येनिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'. So also शमीनिवातम्, कुड्यनिवातम् or कुड्यनिवातम् ॥ The word निवात is an Avyayi-

bháva compound = वातस्य अभावः (II. 1. 6): or a Bahuvrihi = निरुद्धो वातोऽस्मिन् ॥ The words कुटीनिवातश्च &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुटी and शानी are formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुट्य is derived from कुं by adding यत् with the augment उक् and treating it as कित्, is has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix ड्यक् to कु and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राज-निवाति वसति, सुखं मातुर्निवाते = 'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निवात = पार्श्वः or vicinity.

शारदे ऽनार्तवे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शारदे, अनात्तवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतौ भवमार्तवम् । अनार्तववाचिनि शारदशब्दउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

9. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word शारद, having any other sense than that of 'autumnal'.

The word अर्तव means appertaining to season (ऋतु) i. e. when the word शारद does not refer to the season of शरत् or autumn. Thus रज्जुशारदपुत्रकम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also हर्षेत् शारदाः सक्तैः 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word रज्जु is formed by ड affix added to सृज् (Uṇ. I. 15), the स being elided. The affix ड is treated as कित् (Uṇ. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word हर्षेत् is formed by the augment ष and shortening of the vowel of the root हृ 'to tear' (हृणाति), and the affix अदिक् (Uṇ. I. 131) and has accent on the final (III. 1. 3).

Why do we say 'when not meaning autumnal'? Observe परमशारदेम्, उत्तमशारदेम् 'the best autumnal grass &c'. (VI. 1. 223).

अध्वर्युकषाययोजांतौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्यु, कषाययोः, जातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युकषाय इत्येतयोर्जांतवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

10. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting a genus, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word अध्वर्यु or कषाय ॥

Thus प्रौष्याध्वर्युः, कठोऽध्वर्युः, कालापाध्वर्युः ॥ These are Appositional compounds denoting 'genus or kind', with a fixed meaning. प्राष्य is formed by यत्, and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 213). कठ is derived by अच् affix (III. 1. 34), and to it is added the Taddhita affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104), in the sense of कठेन मोक्तं (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107. The word कालाप comes from कलापिन् + अण् (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कलापिना मोक्तं (IV. 3.

101), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a vārtika which declares that the इन् of कलापिन् will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 var). Thus कालाप gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्पिमण्डकषायम्, उमापुष्पकषायम्, शैवारिककषायम् ॥ These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्पिमण्ड and उमापुष्प are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word शैवारिक is formed by डक् affix added to हार and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाधुर्यः, परमकृपायः (VI. 1. 223).

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदृश, प्रतिरूपयोः, सादृश्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदृश प्रतिरूप इत्येतयोर्नृत्तरपदयोः सादृश्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतित्त्वरं भवति ॥

11. In a Tatpurusha compound expressing resemblance with some one or something, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is सदृश or प्रतिरूप ॥

Thus पितृसदृशः, मातृसदृशः ॥ The words पितृ and मातृ are formed by Unādi affix वृष् (Un. II. 95) and are finally accented. By II. 1. 31, सदृश forms Instrumental Tatpurusha. That case, however, is governed by VI. 2. 2, which provides for Instrumental compounds. The examples here given are of Genitive Tatpurusha: and it applies to cases where the case-ending is not elided. As शस्त्रीः सदृशो, वृषली सदृशः ॥ Here शस्त्री and वृषली are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174). So also पितृप्रतिरूपः, मातृप्रतिरूपः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe परमसदृशः, उत्तमसदृशः (VI. 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance'.

द्विगौ प्रमाणे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगावुत्तरपदे प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतित्त्वरं भवति ॥

12. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'measure or quantity', the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is a Dvigu.

Thus द्वाय्यसप्तमः and गान्धारिसप्तमः ॥ The word सप्तमः = सप्तमः प्रमाण-मस्य, the affix मात्रच् denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 Var). द्वाय्यसप्तमो सप्तममयः = द्वाय्यसप्तमः "an Eastern seven-years old". So also गान्धारि-सप्तमः or 'षट्समः ॥ द्वाय्य has acute on the first; while गान्धारि is either accented on the first or on the middle; as it belongs to the Kardamādi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe त्रीद्विसंख्यः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting measure?' Observe परमसप्तमः ॥

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्तव्य, पण्यम्, वाणिजे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाणिज्यव्यवहारपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतित्त्वरं भवति ॥

13. Before the word वाणिज् 'a trader', the first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when it is a word specifying the place whither one has to go, or the ware in which one deals.

Thus मद्रवाणिजः, काईरीवाणिजः, गान्धारिवाणिजः = मद्रादिषु गत्वा व्यवहरन्ति 'the Madra-merchants i. e. who trade by going to Madra &c' All these are Locative compounds. मद्र is derived by रक् affix (Un II, 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). काईमार belongs to Kṛshodarādi class (VI. 3. 109), and has acute either on the first or the second syllable. The word गान्धारि belongs to the Kardamādi class, and is consequently acute on the first or the second (Phit III. 10) In the sense of पण्य we have: गोवाणिजः 'a dealer in cows', अश्ववाणिजः &c. गौ is finally accented (Un II. 67): and अश्व has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being कृन् ॥

Why do we say 'the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals?' Observe परमवाणिजैः, उत्तमवाणिजैः ॥

मात्रोपक्षोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम, छाये, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रा उपज्ञा उपक्रम छाया एतेषु उत्तरपदेषु नपुंसकवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्त्वं भवति ॥

14. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent before the words मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम and छाया when these words appear as neuter.

Thus भिक्षामात्रं न इवाति याचितः, सद्युद्धमात्रं न सरोऽस्ति किञ्चन ॥ The word मात्रा is here synonymous with तुल्य, the phrase being = भिक्षायास्तुल्यप्रमाणं, and is a Genitive compound. The word भिक्षा is derived from भिक्ष, by the feminine affix अ (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सद्युद्ध has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phit sūtra I. 2). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिनीयपञ्चमकालकं व्याकरणम्; व्यौदुषपत्रं दुष्करणम् आपिवास्त्युपज्ञं युक्लापव (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिनि is derived by अण् affix from पणिन् (पणिनोऽपत्यम् = पाणिर्न), and has acute on the final, (III. 1. 3). The word व्याडि being formed by इड् affix has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), so also आपिचलि ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as आर्योपक्रमं प्रासादः, इक्ष्वाक्योपक्रमम्, मुकुमारोपक्रमम्, नन्दोपक्रमानि मानानि ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word आढ्ये (तत्रैतन्मैत्रं ध्यायन्ति) is derived from आ + ध्ये + क affix added with the force of घञ्, the ध being changed to ढ the word belonging to पृथोरारदि class (VI. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word इक्ष्वाक्य is formed by अनीच् and has acute on the penultimate नी owing to the indicatory र् (VI. 1. 217). The word मुकुमार has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word नन्द is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as इषुच्छाया,

धनुष्ठाचम् ॥ The word **धनु** is derived from **दृष्** by **ड** affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as **निन्** (Un I. 9) the acute falls on **दृ** the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word **धनुस्** has also acute on the first by **Phiṭ sūtra** II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—**दृष्णां छाया**; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have **कुड्यछाया** (II. 4. 25).

सुखप्रिययोहिते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख, प्रिययोः, हिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्हितवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

15. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when the second term is **सुख** or **प्रिय**, and the sense is 'to feel delight, or is good'.

Thus **गमनसुखम्** 'the pleasure of going'. So also **वैचनसुखम्**, **व्याहरणसुखम्**, **गमनप्रियम्**, **वैचनप्रियम्**, **व्याहरणप्रियम्** ॥ These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by **ल्युट्** affix and have acute on the syllable preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). The words **sukha** and **priya** have the sense of **हित** or 'well good' 'beneficial', i. e. when the thing denoted by the first term is the cause of pleasure or delight. When this is not the sense we have **परमसुखम्**, **परमप्रियम्** ॥

प्रीतौ च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रीतौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रीतौ गम्यमानायां सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

16. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, the second term being **सुख** or **प्रिय**, in the sense of "agreeable to one, or desired".

Thus **ब्राह्मणसुखं** पायसं "the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brāhmanas", **छात्रप्रियोऽनध्यायः ॥ कन्याप्रियो मृदङ्गः ॥** &c. The words **ब्राह्मण** and **छात्र** have acute on the final being formed by the affixes **अण्** and **ण** (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. 1. 3) and **कन्या** has svarita on the final. When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have **राजसुखम्**, **राजप्रियम्** ॥

स्वं स्वामिनि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, स्वामिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिनाब्जउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे स्ववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

17. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word **स्वामिन्** as its second member, the first term, when it denotes the thing possessed, retains its original accent.

Thus **गौस्वामी**, **अश्वस्वामी**, **धनस्वामी** ॥ The accents of **गौ**, **अश्व** and **धन** have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14.. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have **परमस्वामी** ॥

पत्यावैश्वर्ये ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्यौ, ऐश्वर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

18. In a Tatpurusha ending in पति when it means 'master' or lord', the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus गृहपतिः, सेनापतिः, नरपतिः, धान्यपतिः ॥ The word गृह is formed by क (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सेना is a Bahuvrihi (सह इनेन वर्तते = 'सेना'), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word नर is derived from नृ 'to lead' by the affix भप् (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word धान्य has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23 ?) Why do we say when meaning 'lord'? Observe ब्राह्मणो वृषलीपतिः "a Brahmana, husband of a Sûdrâ".

न भू वाक्चिदिधिषु ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, वाक्, चित्, दिधिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दोत्तरपरे ऐद्वयवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भू वाक् चित् दिधिषु इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि प्रकृतिस्वरणि न भवन्ति ॥

19. The words भू, वाक्, चित् and दिधिषु, however, do not preserve their original accent in a Tatpurusha when coming before the word पति denoting 'lord'.

This debars the accent taught by the last aphorism. Thus भूपतिः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः, दिधिषूपतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. 1. 223.

वा भुवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भुवनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दोत्तरपरे ऐद्वयवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भुवनशब्दः पूर्वपरं वा प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

20. The word भुवन may optionally keep its accent in a Tatpurusha, before पति denoting 'lord'.

Thus भुवनपतिः or भुवनपतिः ॥ The word भुवन is formed by ब्युन् (Uṇ. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Though Sûtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains ब्युन् after नृ in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of बहुल (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भुवनपातरादित्यः ॥

आशङ्काबाधनेदीयस्सु संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशङ्क, आ बाध, नेदीयस्सु, संभावने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपरं तत्पुरुष इति वर्तते । आशङ्क आबाध नेदीयस् इत्येतेषु उत्तरपरेषु संभावनवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

21. Before आशङ्क, आबाध and नेदीयस्, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम् = अस्ति त्वाप्यवसायः "the hesitation about the existence of a thing". Thus गमनाशङ्कं वर्तते 'one fears the journey'; so also वैचन्याशङ्कं, व्याहरणाशङ्कं, &c. Similarly गमनाबाधम् वर्तते = गमनं बाध्यते इति संभाव्यते "it has stepped in as

an obstacle to journey". So also **वैचननेदीयः, व्याहरणनेदीयः** ॥ Similarly **गमनेदीयो वर्तते, वैचननेदीयः व्याहरणनेदीयः** = गमनमिति निवृत्तमिति संभाव्यते "the journey stands directly before".

Why do we say when a supposition is meant? Observe **परमनेदीयः** ॥ All the above words are formed by **ल्युट्** affix and have **लिट्** accent. (VI. 1. 193).

पूर्वं भूतपूर्वं ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वं, भूतपूर्वं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्ववाच्यत्वरपदे भूतपूर्ववाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

22. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word **पूर्वं** is the second member, and the sense is "this had been lately——".

Thus **भाढ्यो भूतपूर्वः** = **भाढ्यपूर्वः** "formely had been rich". The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 57 or it belongs to Mayura-vyañsakādi class. So also **दक्षिणीयपूर्वः, सुकुमारपूर्वः** ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately'. Observe **परमपूर्वः, उत्तमपूर्वः**, which should be analysed as **परमभासौ पूर्वमेति** ॥ If it is analysed as **परमो भूतपूर्वः** then it becomes an example under the rule and not a counter-example. In order therefore, to make this rule applicable we must know the sense of the compound.

सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, सदेशेषु, सामीप्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सविध सनीड समर्याद सवेश इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु सामीप्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

23. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second 'member is **सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, and सदेश** in the sense of "what can be found in the vicinity thereof".

Thus **महसविधम्, गान्धारिसविधम्, काश्मीरसविधम्** ॥ So also **महसनीडम्, महसमर्यादम्, महसंवशम् and महसदेशम्** So also with **गान्धारि** and **काश्मीर** ॥ The accents of these words have been taught before in Sūtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words **सविध** &c. are derived from **सह विधा** &c, but they all mean 'in the vicinity': **महसविधं** = **महानां सामीप्यम्** ॥ Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe **सह मर्यादया वर्तते** = **समर्यादं क्षेत्रम्** 'a field having boundary'. **देवदत्तस्य समर्यादं** = **देवदत्तसमर्यादम्** "the bounded field of D'. Why do we say **सविध** &c? Observe **देवदत्तसमर्यादं** ॥

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विस्पष्ट, आदीनि-गुणवचनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विस्पष्टादीनि पूर्वपदानि गुणवचनेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरानि भवन्ति ॥

24. The words **विस्पष्ट** &c preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound,

Thus **विस्पष्ट कटुकम्**, **विचित्रकटुकम्**, **व्यक्तकटुकम्**, **विस्पष्टलवणम्**, **विचित्रलवणम्**, **व्यक्तलवणम्** ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 4, and it should be analysed thus **विस्पष्टं कटुकम्** &c.

The words **विस्पष्ट** &c, are indeed here adjectives, and in conjunction with **कटु** &c, they denote an object possessing those qualities; and therefore not being in apposition, the compound is not a Karmadhâraya.

The word **विस्पष्ट** has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word **विचित्र** is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the word as **विचिन्तः**, which being a Bahuvrîhi has also first acute. The word **व्यक्त** has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are **संपन्नं**, **पैदु** or **कटु**, **पण्डितं**, **कुशलं**, **अपलं** and **निपुणं**. Of these, the word **संपन्नं** has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; **पैदु** is formed by **इ** (Uṇ I. 18), which being considered as **नि** (Uṇ I. 9), it has acute on the first. **पण्डित** is formed by **क्त** to the root **प**, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). **कुशल** has accent on the final being formed by a kṛit affix (**कुशान् लाति** = **कुशलः**, ला भादाने, or Uṇ I. 106), **अपल** being formed by a **चित्** affix (Uṇ I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for **चित्** is understood in the Uṇadi sūtra Uṇ. I. 111 from sūtra Uṇ. I. 106. The word **निपुण** has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by **क** affix added to **पु** &c.

Why do we say 'of **विस्पष्ट** &c' Observe **परमलवणम्** **उत्तमलवणम्**, both having acute on the final. Why do we say "when followed by a word expressing a quality"? Observe **विस्पष्टब्राह्मणः** ॥

अज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, ज्य, अवम, कन्, पापवत्सु, भावे, कर्मधारये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अ ज्य अवम कन् इत्येतेषु पापशब्दवति चोत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे भाववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

25. In a Karmadhâraya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun (**भाव**), preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from **अ** (V. 3. 60), **ज्य** (V. 3. 61) **अवम** and **कन्** (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word **पाप** ॥

Thus **गैमनश्रेष्ठम्**, or **गैमनश्रेयः**, **वैचनश्रेष्ठम्** or **वचनश्रेयः**; **गैमनावमम्**, **वैचनावमम्**, **गैमनकनिष्ठम्** or **गमनकनीयः** ॥ So also **गैमनपापिष्ठम्**, **गैमनपापीयः** ॥ All the first members are **ल्युट्** formed words and have **लिट्** accent i. e. on the first syllable. (VI. 1. 193). The words **अ**, **ज्य** and **कन्** are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the sūtra indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these ele-

ments should be taken as second members, and so also of पाप, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word पापवत् ॥

Why do we say “अ &c”? Observe गमनशोभनम् ॥ Why do we say ‘a verbal Noun’? Observe गमनश्रेयः, where the word गमन is = गम्यते ऽनेन ‘a carriage’. Why do we say ‘a Karmadhāraya compound’? Observe गमनं श्रेयः = गमनश्रेयः ॥

कुमारश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारश्चब्दः पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

26. The word कुमार preserves its original accent when standing as a first member in a Karmadhāraya compound.

Thus कुमारकुलदा, कुमारश्रमणा, कुमारतापसी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार क्रीडायाच् with the affix अच् of पचादि ॥ By II. 1. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with श्रमण &c. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by श्रमण &c. (II. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim लक्षणमाति-परोक्तयोः प्रतिपरोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् “whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar, or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed.” Other Grammarians, however do not make any such limitation, but apply the rule to all Karmadhāraya compounds of कुमार ॥

आदिः प्रत्येनसि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, प्रत्येनसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयवृत्ति वर्तते । प्रतिगत एनसा प्रतिगतमेनो वा यस्य सः प्रत्येनाः । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्म-धारस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

27. In a Karmadhāraya compound of Kumāra followed by प्रत्येनस्, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumāra.

The word प्रत्येनस् = प्रतिगत एनसा or प्रतिगतमेनो यस्य ॥ Thus कुमारप्रत्येनाः ॥ The word udātta is required to be read into the sūtra to complete the sense: for the construction of the sūtra requires it, and the anuvritti of the ‘first member preserves its accent’ would be inappropriate because the word आदि is employed here.

पूरोष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूरोषु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूगा गणास्तद्वाचिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे कुमारस्यान्यतरस्यामदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

28. The first syllable of Kumâra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting 'the name of a horde'.

The word **पुग** means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus **कुमारचातकाः** or **कुमारैचातका** (VI. 2. 26), or **कुमारचातकैः** ॥ So also **कुमारलोहध्वजाः** or **कुमारैलोहध्वजाः** or **कुमारलोहध्वजैः** ॥ So also with **कुमारबलाहकैः**, **कुमारजीवतकैः** ॥ Here **चातक** &c, are horde-names; and the affix **ञ्य** is added to them by V. 3. 112: which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 62. In the above examples when the word 'Kumâra' is not accented on the first syllable, it gets accent on the last by VI. 2. 26, when the **प्रतिपक्षोक्त** maxim is not applied: when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इगन्त, काल, कपाल, भगाल, शरावेषु, द्विगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तदत्तरपदे कालवाचिनि कपाल भगाल शराव इत्येतेषु च द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

29. In a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of **अ** (**इक्**), before a word denoting time, as well as before **कपाल, भगाल** and **शराव** ॥

Thus **वैञ्च्चारत्निः, वैश्चारत्निः** ॥ The above are examples of Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), equal to **पञ्चारत्नयः प्रमाणमस्य**, the **प्रमाण** denoting-affix **माचच्** is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 Vârt). So also **वैञ्च्चास्य, वैश्चास्यः = पञ्च मासान् वृत्तो भूतो भावी वा**. This is also a Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix **चच्** (V. 1. 80—82). So also **वैञ्च्चवर्षः, वैश्चवर्षः** the affix **उच्** being elided (V. 1. 88). So also **वैञ्च्चकपालः, वैश्चकपालः, वैञ्च्चभगालः, वैश्चभगालः, वैञ्च्चशरावः, वैश्चशरावः** ॥ These are also Taddhitârtha Dvigu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix **अच्** being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an **इगन्त** stem &c"? Observe **पञ्चमिरथैः क्रीतः = पञ्चार्थैः, रथार्थैः** ॥ Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound?" Observe **परमा-रिर्ज्ञः, परमशरावैश्च** ॥

When these Dvigu compounds, by case-modifications do not end in **इक्** vowel, but the vowel is replaced by a semi vowel or Guṇa, the rule will still apply. Thus **वैञ्च्चारत्न्यः** or **वैश्चारत्न्यः** ॥ This is done on the strength of the maxim **असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे**. "That which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antaranga is to take effect:" because the substitution of semivowel or guṇa is a bahiranga opera-

tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthānivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बह्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुशब्दः पूर्वपदमिगन्तारिषूत्तरपदेषु द्विगौ समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतित्त्वरं भवति ॥

30. In a Dvigu compound, the word बहु may optionally preserve its accent when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapāla, bhagāla and śarāva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बहुहरत्रिः or बहुरात्रिः, बहुमास्यः or बहुमास्यैः, बहुकपालः or बहुकपालैः, बहुभगालः or बहुभगालैः, बहुशरावः or बहुशरावैः ॥ The word बहु has acute on the final being formed by the affix कृ (Uṇ I. 29). When the उ is changed to व्, as in the first example, the anudatta अ is changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 4 : when the first member preserves its accent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिष्टि, वितस्त्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिष्टि वितस्ति इत्येतयोस्तत्तरपदयोर्द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतित्त्वरं भवति ॥

31. In a Dvigu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words दिष्टि and वितस्ति as second members.

Thus वैञ्चदिष्टिः or पञ्चदिष्टिः, वैञ्चवितस्तिः or पञ्चवितस्तिः ॥ The affix नाचच् is elided after the प्रमाण denoting words diṣṭi and vitasti (V. 2. 37).

सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व, बन्धेषु, अकालात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं पूर्वपदं सिद्ध शुष्क पक्व बन्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषुप्रकृतित्त्वरं भवति सा चैतत्सप्तमी कालान्न भवति ॥

32. A locative-ending word when it does not denote time, preserves its original accent, when followed by सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व and बन्ध in a compound.

Thus सांकाश्यैःसिद्धः or सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यैःसिद्धः or काम्पिल्यसिद्धः ॥ The words sāmkaśya and kāmṇilya have acute on the final, and by Phiṭ Sūtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निधनशुष्कः, ऊर्कशुष्कः ॥ The word निधन is derived by व्यु affix added to नि-धाञ् and has acute on the middle; the word ऊर्क is formed from अर् root by the affix कर्, and has acute on the final. So also कूर्मपक्वः, कल्मीपक्वः ॥ The words Kumbhī and Kalaśī are formed by डीप् affix and have acute on the final; the word भाष्ट्र is formed by ष्ट्रन् affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रबन्धः चौरकबन्धः ॥ The word chakra has acute on the final, and chāraka being formed by ञ्रल् has acute on the first.

Why do we say 'when not denoting time'? Observe पूर्वाह्नसिद्धः, अपराह्नसिद्धः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpuruṣa taught in VI. 2. 1 was debarred by Kṛit-accent taught VI. 2. 144. The present sūtra debars this last rule regarding Kṛit accent, and re-ordains the Locative Tatpuruṣa accent when the Kṛit-words are सिद्ध &c.

परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि, प्रति, उप, अपाः, वर्ज्यमान, अहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि प्रति उप अप इत्येते पूर्वपदभूता वर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयव वाचिनि रात्र्यवयववाचिनि चोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरा भवन्ति ।

33. The particles परि, प्रति, उप and अप preserve their accent before that word, which specifies an exclusion, or a portion of day and night, (in an Avyayībhāva compound also).

Thus परिनिगतं वृष्टो देवः "It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta". (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also परिसौवीरम् परिसार्वसिनि, परिपूर्वरात्रम् ॥ So also प्रति-पूर्वाह्नम्, प्रत्यपराह्नम्, प्रत्यपरात्रम्, उपपूर्वाह्नम्, उपपराह्नम्, उपपूर्वरात्रम्, उपपरात्रम् ॥ अप-निगतं वृष्टो देवः, अपसौवीरम्, अपसार्वसिनी (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Phiṭ Sūtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipāta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अभि ॥ Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpuruṣa and Bahuvrīhi compounds, these words 'pari', 'prati' &c, as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before; the present sūtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayībhāva compounds also. The prepositions अप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्जन, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप ॥ With these prepositions अप and परि, the second term if denoting a member of day or night, are also taken even as *excluded*, therefore no separate illustrations of those are given.

Why do we say 'before a word which is excluded, or is a part of a day and night'? Observe प्रत्यग्नि शालभाः पतन्ति ॥ In परिवनम् "all round the forest, but not in it", the accent falls on the last by VI. 2. 178, which debars this general rule, as well as all special rules which might affect वन in a compound.

राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्य, बहु वचन, द्वन्द्वे, अन्धक, वृष्णिषु, (पूर्वपदप्रकृत्स्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यवाचिनां बहुवचनान्तानां यो द्वन्द्वो ऽन्धकवृष्णिषु वर्त्तते तत्र पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

34. The first member of a Dvandva compound, formed of names denoting the Kshatriya (warrior) clans in

the plural number, retains its original accent when the warrior belongs to the clan of Andhaka or Vṛishṇi.

Thus **आफल्कचैत्रकाः, चैत्रकरोधका, शिनिवासुदेवाः ॥** The words *Svāphalka* and *Chaitraka* are formed by **अण्** affix (IV. 1. 114) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word *शिनि* has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic. Why do we say 'in denoting a Warrior clan'? Observe **हैप्यहेमायनाः ॥** Here **हैप्य** is derived from **हीप** by the affix **यञ्** (IV. 3. 10) = **हीपे भवाः; हेमायनः = हैभेरपस्यं युवा ॥** These names belong to Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word **राजन्य** here means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of anointed kings and warriors (**अभिषिक्तवंश्याः**); these (*Dvaipya* and *Haimāyana*) do not belong to any such family. Why do we say 'in the Plural number'? Observe **संकर्षणवासुदेवौ ॥** Why do we say 'in a Dvandva compound'? Observe **वृष्णीनां कुमारः = वृष्णिकुमारौ ॥** Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vṛishni clans'? Observe **कुरुपञ्चालाः ॥**

संख्या ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रसमासे संख्यावाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

35. The Numeral word, standing as the first member of a Dvandva compound, preserves its accent.

Thus **एकादश, द्वीदश, त्रयोदश** or **चतुर्दश ॥** The word **एक** is derived from **इण्** by **कन्** affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The **चयस्** is the substitute of **त्रि** (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि । आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवासी, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां यो इन्द्रस्तत्र पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

36. When words denoting scholars are named after their teachers and are compounded into a Dvandva, the first member retains its accent.

The word **अन्तेवासी** means 'a pupil' 'a boarding not a day scholar'. When the scholar is named by an epithet derived from the name of his teacher, that name is **आचार्योपसर्जनः** or teacher-derived name. Thus **आपिशलि-पाणिनीयाः, पाणि मैत्रि-रोदीयाः, रोदीयकाशकृत्स्नाः ॥** The son of *Apīśala* is *आपिशलि* the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an *āchārya* : formed by **इञ्** affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called **आपिशलम्**, formed by adding **अण्** affix to **आपिशलाः** (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the *Apīśalam* are also called **आपिशलाः** the affix denoting 'to study' is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of *Apīśali* will be also called *Apīśalāḥ*. Thus in both ways *Apīśalāḥ* is a scholar name derived from the name of a teacher. The word **आचार्योपसर्जन** qualifies the whole Dvandva compound and

not the first member only. That is, the whole compound in all its parts should denote scholars, whose names are derived from those of their teachers. Therefore not here पाणिनीय-देवदत्तौ where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe छान्दसवैयाकरणाः ॥ Why do we say "a Scholar"? Observe आपिशालपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

कार्तिकौजपादयश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्तिकौजप, आदयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कार्तिकौजपादया ये द्वन्वास्तिषु पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

37. Also in the Dvandvas कार्तिकौजप &c, the first members retain their accent.

Those words of this list which end in a dual or plural affix have been so exhibited for the sake of distinctness. The following is a list of these words. 1. कार्तिकौजप (formed by अण् IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names) ॥ 2. सावर्णिमाण्डूकेयौ (sāvarṇi is formed by इञ् Patron. affix and माण्डूकेय by टक् IV. 1. 119). 3. आवन्त्यदमकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the Patron affix ण्यान् by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tadrāj is elided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासो जनपदः = अवन्ति the quadruple significant अण् being elided.

4. पैलदयापर्णेयाः (Paila is derived from Pīlā the son of Pīlā is Paila, the yuvan descendent of Paila will be formed by adding क्तिञ् IV. 1. 156, which is, however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Śyāparṇa belongs to Bidādi class IV. 1. 104, the female descendant will be Śyāparṇī, the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyāparṇeya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always We have पैलदयापर्णेयौ also.

5. कपिदयापर्णेयाः (Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by यञ् IV. 1. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. शैतिकाक्षपाञ्चालेयाः (Śitikāksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Śaitikāksha by अण्, IV. 1. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by इञ् which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pāñchāla's female descendant is Pāñchālī, her yuvan descendant is Pāñchāleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have शैतिकाक्षपाञ्चालेयौ also.)

7. कटुकवार्चलेयाः or कटुकवार्चलेयाः (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by इञ् IV. 1. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchalā is Vārchaleya).

8. शाकलशुनकाः (The son of Śakala is Śakalya, his pupils are Śakalāḥ by अण् IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunak will be Śaunaka by अञ् IV. 1. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शकलसणकाः, where the इञ् affix after Saṇaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also शुनकधात्रेयः ॥

9. शणकवाभ्रवाः (the son of Babhru is Bābhraṇa). 10. आर्चाभिर्गोहलाः (Archāvināḥ are those who study the work produced by Rīchāva, the affix

णिनि being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kaṇvādi class IV. 2. 111; Maudgalāḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala). 11. कुन्तिसुराष्ट्रः. This a Dvandva of Kunti and Surāshṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final. 12. चिन्तिसुराष्ट्रः as the last. 13. तण्डवतण्डः (Both belong to Pachādi class formed by अच् III. 1. 134, from तडि ताडेन Bhvādi 300, वतण्ड is formed from the same root with the prefix अव, the अ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargādi list IV. 1. 105. In the plural the patronymic affix वस् is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्गवत्साः Here also वस् affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. अविमत्तकामवधाः or विद्धाः ॥ Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नच् particle. Both the words lose इच् patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनाः The son of Babhru is Bābhraṇa, and the son of Śalaṅku or Śalaṅka of नडादि IV. 1. 99 is Śalaṅkāyana.

17. बाभ्रवदानच्युताः Dānchryuta takes इच् in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालपाः, Kaṭhāḥ are those who read the work of Kaṭha, the affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104) being elided by IV. 3. 107. Those who study the work of Kalāpin are Kālāpāḥ, the अण् being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the इन् of kalāpin to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vārtika under VI. 4. 144 the इन् portion is elided before अण् ॥

19. कठकौयुमाः Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौयुमाः formed by अण् IV. 1. 83 the इन् being elided before अण् by VI. 4. 144 Vārt already referred to above.

20. कौयुमलौकाशाः Those who study the work of Lokāksha are Laukā-kshāḥ. Or the son of Lokāksha is Laukākshi, the pupils of latter are Laukākshāḥ.

21. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ Strī has accent on the final.

22. मौदपेप्पलाशः, the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudāḥ. So also Paippalādāḥ.

23. मौदपेप्पलाशैः The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वत्सजरत् or वत्सजरन्तः = वत्स + जरत् ॥ Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सौश्रुतपार्थवाः, The pupils of Suśruta and Prithu are so called they take अण् IV. 1. 83. 26. जराष्ट्र्यु, 27. याज्यानुवाक्ये Yājya is formed by ण्यत्, added to यज्, the ज् is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarita on the final by तित् accent (VI. 1. 185). Anuvākya is derived from anu + vach + ण्यत् ॥

महान् ब्रीह्यपराङ्गुष्टीष्वासजावालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ महान्, ब्रीहि, अपराङ्ग, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जावाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, प्रवृद्धेषु, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदमिति वर्त्तते, इन्द्रइति निवृत्तम् । महानित्येतत्पूर्वपदं व्रीहि अपराह्ण, गृष्टि इष्वास जाबाल भार भारत हैलिहिल रौरव प्रवृद्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

38. The word महत् (महा) retains its accent before the following : व्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, and प्रवृद्ध ॥

Thus महौव्रीहिः, महौपराहणः, महौगृष्टिः, महौष्वासः, महौजाबालः, महौभारः, महौभारतः, महौहैलिहिलः, महौरौरवः, महौप्रवृद्धः ॥ The महत् has acute on the final. (Uṇ II. 84) On the पतिपदोक्त maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of महत् which it forms under rule II. 1. 61, for that is the particular rule of Karmadhāraya compounding relating to mahat (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpurusha. Thus महतो व्रीहिः = महद्ब्रीहिः which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word प्रवृद्ध is a Participle formed by क्त affix, and by rule VI. 2. 46, in a Karmadhāraya compound, the first member will retain its original accent. What is then the necessity of reading this word in this sūtra ?
Ans. That sūtra VI. 2. 46 applies, on the maxim of pradipadokta, to the special participles and nouns mentioned in II. 1. 59 and not to every participle and noun.

क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुल्लकः, च, वैश्वदेवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुल्लक इत्येतत्पूर्वपदं महाम्ब वैश्वदेवउत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

39. The words mahat and kshullaka retain their accent before the word Vaiśvadeva.

Thus महौवैश्वदेवम्, and क्षुल्लकौवैश्वदेवम् ॥ The word kshullaka is derived thus क्षुधं लति = क्षुल्लः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added : and the word has udātta on the final.

उष्ट्रः सादिवाम्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रः, सादि, वाम्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दः पूर्वपदं सादिवाम्योरुत्तरपदयोः प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

40. The word 'ushtra' retains its accent before 'sādi' and 'vāmi'.

Thus उष्ट्रसादि and उष्ट्रवामि ॥ The word उष्ट्र is derived from उष् by ष्ट् affix (Uṇ IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is either a Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a visarga in the masculine, and not Neuter.

गौः सादिसादिसाराथिषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गौः, साद, सादि, साराथिषु, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दः पूर्वपदं साद सादि साराथि इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

41. The word 'गो' retains its accent before 'sâda', 'sâdi', and 'sârathi'.

Thus गोःसादः or गां सादयति = गो^१सादः, गोः सादिः = गो^१सादिः, and गो^१सारथिः ॥ साद is formed from सद् with the affix घञ् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः सादः). Or from the causative verb सादयति, we get गोसादः by adding अण् (III. 9. 1) गोसारी is formed by णिनि from the same causative root. The Kṛit-accent is debarred in the case of साद and सादिन्, the Samâsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of सारथि ॥

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलहृदरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बलो दासीभाराणां च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरुगार्हपत, रिक्तगुरु, असूतजरती, अश्लीलहृदरूपा, पारेवडबा, तैतिलकद्रूः, पण्यकम्बलः, दासीभाराणाम्, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुगार्हपत रिक्तगुरु असूतजरती अश्लीलहृदरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रू पण्यकम्बल इत्येते समा-सार्थेषां दासीभाराणां च पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुरुवृज्योर्गार्हपतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ संज्ञायामिति उक्तव्यम् ॥

42. The first member retains its accent in the following :—'Kuru-gârhapata', 'Rikta-guru', 'Asûta-jarati', 'Aslîla-driḍha-rûpâ', 'Pâre-vaḍabâ', 'Taitila-kadrûḥ', 'Paṇ-ya-kambalaḥ' and 'Dâsî-bhâra &c'.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the remaining five are in nom. Singular. Thus कुरुगार्हपतम् (कुरुणां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by कु affix added to कृ Uṇ I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vârt :—So also वृजिगार्हपतम्, the word Vṛjî has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्तो गुरुः = रिक्तगुरुः or रिक्तगुरुः for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208). So also असूता जरती = असूतजरती, अश्लीलहृदरूपा = अश्लीलहृदरूपा ॥ Asûta and aslîlâ being formed by नञ् particle have acute on the first : (VI. 2. 2). That which has श्री is called श्लील, the affix लच् being added by its belonging to Sidhmâdi class, and र changed to ल by its belonging to kapilakâdi class. So also पारेवडबा, this is = पारेवडबेव ॥ This is a samâsa with the force of हव, and there is elision of the case ending. The word पार belongs to Ghṛitâdi class, and has acute on the final. तैतिलानां कद्रूः = तैतिलकद्रूः, the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बलः, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vârt :—पण्यकम्बलः has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पणितव्ये कम्बले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word पण्य being formed by यत् affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word पण्यकम्बलः is as Name when it means the market-blanket i. e. a blanket of a well known determinate size

and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samasa accent (VI. 1. 223). If it be objected what is the use this Vartika, for the word पण्य being formed by a kritya affix, will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha, by VI. 2. 2, we reply that the कृत्य used in VI. 2. 2 relates to pratipadokta kritya compounds such as ordained by कृत्यतुल्याख्या भजात्या II. 1. 68, while here the compound is by विशेषणं विशेष्येण II. 1. 51 and is a general compound. So also दास्याभारः = दासीभारः ॥ The words belonging to Dāsi bhārādi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent. Some of them are देवैर्जुतिः, देवैर्गुतिः, देववीतिः, वैद्यनीतिः ॥ Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित् affix Un I. 9 10). ओषधिः = ओषधीयतेऽस्याम्, formed by कि affix (III. 3. 93), ओष being formed by घञ् has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). चन्द्रमाः is formed by अस्ति affix added to the root माङ् माने preceded by the upapada चन्द्र as, चन्द्र + मा + अस् = चन्द्रमस्, the affix being treated as ङित् (Un IV. 228), and चन्द्र is formed by रक् affix (Un II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चतुर्थी तदर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, तदर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं तदर्थेऽन्तरपदे तदभिधेयार्थं यत्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । तदिति चतुर्थ्यन्तस्यार्थः परामृश्यते ।

43. A word in the Dative case as the first member retains its accent, when the second member expresses that which is suited to become the former.

Thus कूपहारः, कुण्डलैर्हिरण्यम् ॥ The word यूप् has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by य (Un III. 27) treated as a नित् (Un III. 26). The word कुण्डल is formed by कल affix which is treated as चित् (Un. I. 108) and has acute on the final. So also रथहारः, वल्लीहिरण्यम् ॥ Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Un II. 2). Valli has acute on the final formed by ङीष् affix. (IV. 1. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुवेरबलिः ॥ This accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. 1. 36.

अर्थे ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थीति वर्तते । अर्थवाङ्मयान्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

44. Before the word 'artha', the first member in the Dative retains its accent.

Thus मात्रे इदं = मात्रार्थम्, देवैर्तार्थम्, अतिथ्यर्थम् ॥ The words मातृ and पितृ are finally acute as taught so in Unādi sūtra (Un II. 95) : देवता being formed by a नित् affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle ; अतिथि is formed by इथिन् affix and has acute on the first.

The difference between **सदृश्य** and **अदृश्य** is that the former, like **सदृश** 'wood', **हिरण्य** 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptibility, while **अदृश्य** means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sūtras, one with **सदृश्य** and the other with **अदृश्य** indicates, that the former rule is applicable only to that compound where the material itself is changed into the substance of the first. Therefore the rule does not apply to **अश्वपासैः**, **अश्वसुतम्** &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

केच ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वान्ते चोत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

45. The first member in the Dative case retains its accent before a Past Participle in **क** ॥

Thus **गोहितम्**, **मनुष्यहितम्**, **अश्वहितम्**, **गोरक्षितम्**, **अश्वरक्षितम्**, **तापसैरक्षितम्** वनम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36. The compound **गोरक्षितं** means **गो-भ्योक्षिते** and is a sampradana Dative.

कर्मधारये ऽनिष्ठा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारये, अनिष्ठा, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे क्त्वान्तउत्तरपदे ऽनिष्ठान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

46. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', the first member, when it itself is not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhāraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. 1. 59; on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus **श्रेणि-कृताः**, **पूर्णकृताः**, **उर्जकृताः**, **निर्धनकृताः** ॥ The word **श्रेणि** has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix **नि** which is considered **निच्** (Uṇ IV. 51). The word **पूर्ण** is end-acute as it is formed by the affix **गच्** (Uṇ I. 124). The word **उर्ज** is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word **निधन** has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhāraya compound? Observe **श्रेण्या कृतं = श्रेणिकृतम्** ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭhā word?' Observe **कृताकृतम्** ॥ Here the compounding is by II. 1. 60.

अहीने द्वितीया ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहीने, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहीनवाचिनि समासे क्त्वान्तउत्तरपदे द्वितीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयानुपसर्गहति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', a word ending in the Accusative case retains its accent, when it does not mean a separation.

Thus **कर्हभितः**, **त्रिषाकलपतितः**, **भौमगतः** ॥ **Kasṭha** has acute on the end, **triṣakala** is a Bahuvrihi compound (**triṣi śakalāni asya**), and consequently acute on the first : **grāma** has acute on the first as it is formed by the **निच्** affix

मन् added to मत्, the final being replaced by मा (Uṇ I. 143) ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning separation'? Observe कान्तारासीति, योजनासीति, because one has taken himself beyond kântāra and yojana.

Vart:—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached; as सुखाप्तः, दुःखाप्तः, सुखापन्नः, दुःखापन्नः (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

तृतीया कर्मणि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, कर्मणि, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मवाचिनि क्तान्तउत्तरपदे तृतीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

48. A word ending in an Instrumental case retains its accent before the Past Participle in 'kta', when it has a Passive meaning.

Thus अहिहतः or अहि हतः रुद्रहृतः, वैजहृतः, महाराजहृतः, नखेनिर्भिन्ना, दौबलूना ॥ The word 'ahi' is derived from हन् with the proposition अि which is shortened, and the affix हण् (Uṇ IV. 138), and has acute on the final, according to others the acute is on the first: Rudra is formed by रक् affix (Uṇ II. 22) added to the causative रोदि; Mahārāja is formed by the Samāsanta affix टच्; nakha is formed by ख affix added to नह् (Uṇ V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrihi नास्य खमस्ति = नखः, formed by अच् (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final: Dātra is formed by दृन् (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive signification? Observe रथेन यातः = रथयातः, the 'kta' is added to a verb of motion with an Active significance.

गतिरनन्तरः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, अनन्तरः (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तं कर्मणीति वर्त्तते । कर्मवाचिनि क्तान्तउत्तरपदे गतिरनन्तरः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

49. A word called Gati (I. 4. 60) when standing immediately before a Participle in 'kta' having a Passive significance, retains its accent.

Thus प्रकृतः, प्रहृतः ॥ Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samasa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sūtra debars all these. Why do we say 'immediately?' Observe अभ्युद्धृतः, सद्युद्धृतः, सद्युद्धृतः ॥ Where the distant Gati words अभि and सम् do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as उद् does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in दूरात् + आगतः (āgata being governed by this rule) we have दूरागागतः, (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in अभि + उद्धृतः = अभ्युद्धृतः ॥ In the former case this maxim applies कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं ॥ "A Kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed, a word-form which begins with that to which that

Kṛit affix has been added, and which ends with the Kṛit affix, but moreover should a Gati or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the Kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it". In the second example, this maxim is not applied, because scope should be given to the word अनन्तर in this aphorism. When the Participle has not a Passive significance, the rule does not apply because the word कर्मणि is understood here also ; as, प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः ॥ This sūtra debars VI. 2. 144.

तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तादौ, च, निति, कृति, अ-तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ च तुशब्दवर्जिते निति कृति परतो गतिरनन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवति ॥

50. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Kṛit-affix beginning with त्, which has an indicatory त्, but not before तु ॥

Thus प्रकर्ता (with तुन्) प्रकर्तुम् (with तुमुन्), प्रकृतिः (with क्तिन्) ॥ This sūtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say "before an affix beginning with त्"? Observe प्रजैल्पाकः formed with the affix बाकन् (III. 2. 155), and the Gati प्र, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say 'which is नित्'? Observe प्रकर्ता formed by तृच् affix. When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment इद्, it does not lose its character of beginning with त् on the Vartika कृदुपदेशो वा ताद्यर्थमिड्यम् ॥ Thus प्रैलपित्ता, प्रैलपितुम् ॥ Why do we say "but not before तु"? Observe आगन्तुः with the Unādi affix तुन् ॥

तवै चान्तश्च युगपत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवै, च, अन्तः, च, युगपत्, (उदात्तः प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति गतिश्चानन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वर इति एतदुभयं युगपद्भवति ॥

51. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before an Infinitive in तवै (III. 4. 14) but whereby simultaneously the final has the acute as well.

Thus अन्वेतवै, पैरिस्तारितवै, पैरिपातवै, अभिचरितवै ॥ All upasargas have acute on the first except 'abhi': which therefore has acute on the final. (Phit Su IV. 13) which declares उपसर्गा आशुशान्ता अभिवर्जम् ॥ This debars कृत् accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

अनिगन्तोञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिगन्तः, अञ्चतौ, वप्रत्यये, (प्रकृतिस्वरः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिगन्तो गतिः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवत्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये वरतः ॥

52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in इ or उ, retains its original accent before अञ्च् when an affix having a च् follows.

Thus प्राह्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः or प्राह्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥ The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also पैराह्, पैराञ्चौ, पैराञ्चः, पैराचः, पैराचा ॥ But with प्रति which ends in इ, we have प्रत्यह्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say 'before an affix च्'? Observe उदञ्चनः ॥ When the nasal of 'añch' is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in इ or उ precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus पैराचः and पैराचाः ॥ In some texts, the reading is अञ्चताप्रत्यये ॥ The affix च् is like क्विप् &c, (VI. 1. 67).

न्यधी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, अधी, च, (प्रकृतिस्वरौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि आधि इत्येतौ चाञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये परतः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवतः ॥

53. The Gatis नि and अधि, however, retain their original accent before 'añch' followed by a च् affix.

Thus न्यह्, न्यञ्चौ, न्यञ्चः ॥ The अ becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also अँध्यह्, अँध्यञ्चौ, अँध्यञ्चः, अँधीचः, अँधीचः, ईधीचः, ईधीचा ॥

ईषदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्, अन्यतरस्या, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्यतस्पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

54. The word ईषत् when first member of a compound may optionally preserve its original accent.

Thus ईषत्कडारः or ईषत्कडारैः, ईषत्पिङ्गलः or ईषत्पिङ्गलैः ॥ ईषत् has acute on the final. But in ईषद्भेदः &c, the Kṛit-accent will necessarily take place (VI. 2. 139); no option being allowed; because the compounds to which the present rule applies are, on the maxim of pratipadokta, those formed by ईषत् with non-Kṛit words under II. 2. 7.

हिरण्यपरिमाणं धने ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिरण्य-परिमाणम्, धने, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिरण्यपरिमाणवाचि पूर्वपदं धनशब्दउत्तरपदे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

55. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold, retains optionally its original accent, before the word धन ॥

Thus द्विसुवर्णधनम् or द्विसुवर्णधनेम् ॥ This is a Karmadhāraya compound द्विसुवर्णो परिमाणमस्य = द्विसुवर्णं, तदेव धनम् ॥ It may also be treated as a Bahuvrihi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as द्विसुवर्णधनः or द्विसुवर्णधनेः ॥ Why do we say 'gold'? Observe प्रत्यधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'quantity'? Observe कान्धनधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'धन'? Observe निष्कमाला ॥

प्रथमो ऽचिरोपसंपत्तौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमः, अचिरः, उपसम्पत्तौ (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमशब्दः पूर्वपदमचिरोपसंपत्तौ गम्यमानायामन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । अचिरापसंपत्तिर-
चिरोपश्लेषोऽभिनवत्वम् ॥

56. The word प्रथम when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent when meaning 'a novice'.

The word अचिरोपसंपत्ति = अचिरोपश्लेष or अभिनवत्वम् ॥ Thus प्रथमवैयाकरणः or प्रथमवैयाकरणैः = संप्रतिव्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रथ by अमष् (Uṇ V. 68) and by चित् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice?' Observe प्रथमवैयाकरणैः (वैयाकरणानामाद्यो मुख्यो वा यः सः) 'the first Grammarian or a Grammarian of the first rank'. It will *always* have acute on the final.

कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, कर्मधारये, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कतरशब्दः कतमशब्दश्च पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

57. The words कतर and कतम standing as the first member of a compound retain optionally their original accent in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus कतरकटः or कतरकटैः, कतमकटः or कतमकटैः ॥ The word Karmadhâraya is used for the sake of the next sūtra, this sūtra could have done without it, as 'katara' and 'katama' by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadhâraya compound by II. 1. 63.

आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः ॥५८॥ पदानि ॥ आर्यः, ब्राह्मण-कुमारयोः, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आर्यशब्दः पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारशब्दयोस्तत्परयोः कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

58. The word आर्य optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya, before the words ब्राह्मण and कुमार ॥

Thus आर्यब्राह्मणः or आर्यब्राह्मणैः, आर्यकुमारः or आर्यकुमारैः ॥ The word आर्य is formed by ण्यन् affix and has svarita on the final. Why do we say 'Arya'? Observe परमब्राह्मणैः, परमकुमारैः ॥ Why do we say before 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra'? Observe आर्यक्षत्रियः ॥ Why 'Karmadhâraya'? Observe आर्यस्य ब्राह्मणः = आर्यब्राह्मणैः ॥ According to the Accentuated Text the accent is ईआर्ये (Pro. Bohtlingk).

राजा च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजा च पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारयोस्तत्परयोः कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

59. The word राजन् retains optionally its accent before the words 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra', in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus राजब्राह्मणः or राजब्राह्मणैः, राजकुमारः or राजकुमारैः ॥ The word राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् added to राज् (Uṇ I. 156). But राज्ञो ब्राह्मण = राजब्राह्मणः where the compound is not Karmadhāraya. The making of this a separate aphorism is for the purpose of preventing the yathāśankhya rule and also for the sake of the subsequent sūtra into which the anuvṛitti of राजन् runs and not of भार्य ॥

षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, प्रत्येनसि, (अन्यतरस्याम् राजा प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञेति वर्त्तते, अन्यतरस्यामिति च । षष्ठ्यन्तो राजशब्दः पूर्वपद प्रत्येनस्युत्तरे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

60. The word 'râjan' ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word प्रत्येनस् ॥

The words राजन् and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. Thus राज्ञः प्रत्येनाः or राज्ञः प्रत्येनौ ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When आक्रोश is not meant we have, राजप्रत्येनाः or राजप्रत्येनौः ॥ Why do we say 'ending in the Genitive'? Observe राजा चासौ प्रत्येनाम् = राजप्रत्येनाः no option.

के नित्यार्थे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, नित्यार्थे (पूर्वपदम् अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कान्तउत्तरपदे नित्यार्थे समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

61. A word having the sense of 'always', retains optionally its accent before a Past Participle in क् ॥

Thus नित्यप्रवृत्तः or नित्यप्रवृत्तैः, सततप्रवृत्तः or सततप्रवृत्तैः ॥ These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. नित्य is formed by ल्यप् affix added to the upasarga नि (IV. 2. 104 Vārt); and has acute on the first, the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being anudātta (III. 1. 4). The word सतत being formed by क् affix with the force of आद्यः, has acute on final by VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by कर्मणि क्, then the accent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term means 'always'? Observe बुहुर्त्तप्रवृत्तैः ॥ In the case of नित्यप्रवृत्तः &c the samāsa accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpuruṣa accent VI. 2, 2. this in its turn was set aside by क् accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debarred by the present.

ग्रामः शिल्पिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामः, शिल्पिनि, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

62. The word ग्राम when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting "a professional man or artisan".

Thus **ग्रामनापितः** or **ग्रामनापितैः**, **ग्रामकुलालः** or **ग्रामकुलालैः** ॥ The word **ग्राम** has acute on the first. Why do we say “ग्राम”? Observe **परमनापितैः** ॥ Why do we say ‘a śilpi a professional workman’? Observe **ग्रामरथा**; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च, प्रशंसायाम्, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजशब्दः पूर्वपदे शिल्पिवाचिन्त्युत्तरपदे प्रशंसायां गम्यमानाया मन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

63. The word **राजन्** followed by a profession-denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus **राजनापितः** or **राजनापितैः**, **राजकुलालः** or **राजकुलालैः** “A royal barber i. e. a skillful barber or one fit to serve the king even” &c. It may be either a Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. Why do we say ‘राजन्’? Observe **परमनापितैः** ॥ Why do we say ‘when denoting praise’? Observe **राजनापितैः** ‘king’s barber’. Why do we say ‘a professional man’? Observe **राजहस्ती** ‘a royal elephant’.

आदिर्दत्तः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, उदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिर्दत्त इत्येतदधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

64. In the following up to VI. 2. 91 inclusive the phrase “the first syllable in—(the word standing in the Nominative) has the acute”, is to be always supplied.

This is an *adhikāra* aphorism. The first syllable of the **पूर्वपद** will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase ‘*ādir udātta*’ should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent *sūtras*. The very next *sūtra* illustrates it. That *sūtra* literally means “a word in the Locative case or a word denoting the name of the receiver of a tax or tribute, standing before a word denoting that which is lawful, but not before **हरण**”. To complete the sense we must supply the words “has acute on the first syllable”. Thus **स्तेपेष्टाणः**, **मुकुटे कार्पाषणम्**, **यज्ञिकान्धः**, **वैयाकरणहस्ती** ॥ The word **आदि** ‘the first syllable’ is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word **उदात्त** has longer stretch : it governs upto VI. 2. 137.

सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्ये ऽहरणे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, हारिणौ, धर्म्ये, अहरणे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं हारिवाचि च पूर्वपदं धर्म्यवाचिनि हरणशब्दादन्यास्मिन्नुत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

65. The first member of a compound, if in the Locative case or denoting the name of the Receiver of a tax, has acute on the first syllable, when the second member is a word denoting ‘what is lawful’, but not when it is **हरण** ॥

The word **हारिण्** means 'appropriates the dues or taxes': and **धर्म्यम्** means 'the due or tax which has been determined by the custom or usage, of the country, town, sect or family. that which one is lawfully entitled to get'. The word **धर्म्य** is formed by **यत्** under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: — **स्तूप-द्याणः**, **कुन्दे-कार्पापणम्**, **हले-विपदिका**, **हैले-विपदिका**, **हैपदि-माषकः** ॥ These compounds are formed under II. 1. 44, and the sign of the Locative is not elided by VI. 3. 9 and 10. With the name of a due-receiver **हारी** we have the following: — **यास्तिकाश्वः** 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'. So also **वैयाकरणहस्ती**, **मातुलम्बः**, **पितृव्यगवः** ॥ In some places the established usage is to give a **द्याण** coin in every sacred Tope &c, or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say 'what is lawful'? Observe **स्तम्भेरमैः**, **कर्मकरवर्द्धितकैः** **वर्द्धितको** नाम मूले स्थूलोमे सूक्ष्म ओदन पिण्डः, स कर्मकराय दीयते, अन्यथा कर्म न कुर्यादिति, न त्वयं धर्मः ॥ Why do we say "but not before **हरण**"? Observe **वाडबहरणम्** 'that which is given to a mare'. **हरण** is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covered, in order to strengthen her. The word **हरण** is a Kṛit-formed word, its exclusion here indicates that other Kṛit-formed words however are governed by this rule when preceded by a **हारी** denoting word; and thus this sūtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus **वाडबहायः** has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

युक्ते च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्ते, च, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तवाचिनि च समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ।

66. The first member of a compound has acute on the first syllable, when the second member denotes that by whom the things denoted by the first are regulated or kept in order.

The word **युक्त** means 'he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty' i. e. the person appointed to look after. Thus **गोबल्लवः** 'a cowherd looking after cow': **अश्वबल्लवः**, **गोमणिन्दः**, **अश्वमणिन्दः**, **गोसंख्यः**, **अश्वसंख्यः** ॥ All these word **बल्लवः**, **मणिन्दः**, **संख्यः** &c mean **पालकः** 'the protector &c.

विभाषा अध्यक्षे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अध्यक्षे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यक्षशब्दउत्तरपदे विभाषा पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

67. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word **अध्यक्ष** follows.

Thus **गौवाध्यक्षः** or **गवाध्यक्षः** 'a superintendent of cows': **अश्व्याध्यक्षः** or **अश्व्याध्यक्षः** ॥

पापं च शिल्पिनि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पापम्, च, शिल्पिनि, (विभाषा)(आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पापशब्दः शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽऽद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

68. The word पाप has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पापनापितः or पापनापितैः, पापकुलालः or पापकुलालैः ॥ This rule applies to the pratipadokta samâsa of पाप in the sense of censure as taught in II. 1. 54, when it is an appositional compound ; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पापस्यनापितः = पापनापितैः ॥

गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र, अन्तेवासि, माणव, ब्राह्मणेषु, क्षेपे, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिन्यन्तेवासिवाचिनि चोत्तरपदे माणवब्राह्मणयोश्च क्षेपवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तम् भवति ॥

69, The first syllable of the first member of a compound has the acute accent before a Patronymic name or a scholar-name, as well as before माणव and ब्राह्मण, when a reproach is meant.

Thus जैवावात्स्यः = यो जंघादानं ववान्यहमिति वात्स्यः, संपद्यते सः; यत्र आद्धादौ वात्स्या-
नामेव पादप्रक्षालनं क्रियते, तत्रावात्स्यः सन् वात्स्याऽहमिति हुते तन्नाभाय सः ॥ भार्यासौश्रुतः 'a de-
scendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The com-
pounding takes place by the analogy of शाक्रपार्थिवः ॥ वैद्याब्राह्मकृतेयः (Brahmakrita
belongs to Subhîrâdi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now
with scholar names. दक्षपुत्राः 'the pupils of Daksha for the sake of marriage
i. e. who study the work of Daksha or make themselves the pupils of Daksha
for the sake of girls'. कम्बलचारायणीयाः, घृतरौद्रीयाः, and औदनपाणिनीयाः &c. भिक्षामाणवः
= भिक्षालप्स्येऽहमिति माणवो भवति ॥ वृषली ब्राह्मणः, वैद्यब्राह्मणः = यो भयेन ब्राह्मणः
संपद्यते ॥ Compounding by II. 1. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we
say 'when followed by a Gotra word?' Observe दासीश्रोत्रिर्धैः ॥ Why do we say
'when reproach is meant?' Observe महाब्राह्मणः ॥

अङ्गानि मैरेये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गानि, मैरेये, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मैरेयशब्दोत्तरपदे तदङ्गवाचीनि पूर्वपदान्याद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

70. The first syllable of the word preceding मैरेय, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus शुद्धमैरेयः 'the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses'.
मैधुमैरेयः 'the maireya prepared from honey'. Why do we say when denoting
'an ingredient?' Observe परममैरेयैः ॥ Why do we say "before मैरेय?" Observe
पुष्पासर्दः ॥ Every sort of spirituous liquor except सुरा is called मैरेय ॥

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ताख्याः, तदर्थेषु, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तमन्त्रं तदाख्यास्तद्वाचिनः शब्दास्तदर्थेषूत्तरपदेषु आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

71. A word denoting food gets the acute on the first syllable, when standing before a word which denotes a repository suited to contain that.

Thus भिक्षावासः, भैक्षकंसः, भौणाकंसः, भौजीकंसः ॥ The words like भिक्षा, भक्त &c, are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'? Observe समाशालयैः (the word समाश=समशनं is the name of an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadartheshu suited to contain that'? Observe भिक्षाप्रियः, which is a Bahuvrihi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

गोबिडालसिंहसैन्धवेपुमाने ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, बिडाल, सिंह, सैन्धवेपु, उपमाने, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवादिपुमानवाचिपुत्तरपरेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

72. A word denoting the object of comparison gets the acute on the first syllable when standing before गो, बिडाल, सिंह, and सैन्धव ॥

Thus धान्यगवः=धान्यं गौरिव ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56, the words गो &c, being considered to belong to Vyāghrādi class, which is an Akṛitigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं ॥ So also हिरण्यगवः, भिक्षाबिडालः, ब्राह्मणबिडालः, तृणसिंहः, कौष्ठसिंहः, सैक्तुसैन्धवः, पानसैन्धवः ॥ Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparison"? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

अके जीविकार्थे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अके, जीविकार्थे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकप्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपरे जीविकार्थवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

73. The first member of a compound has the acute on the first syllable when the second member is a word ending in the affix अक, and the compound expresses a calling by which one gets his living.

Thus ईन्तलेखकः, नैखलेखकः, अँवस्करशोधकः, रैमणीयकारकः=इन्तलेखनादिभिर्येषां जीविका ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि ॥ All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus ण्वल्, बुन् &c are अक affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say "ending in the affix अक"? Observe रमणीयकर्ता ॥ Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix कृच् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

प्राचां क्रीडायाम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, क्रीडायाम्, (आद्युदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवर्त्तिनां या क्रीडा तद्वाचिनि समासे ऽकप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपरे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

74. A compound the second member of which is a word ending in अक् affix, and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the the acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus ईशालकपुष्पभञ्जिका, वीरणपुष्पमचायिका, शालभञ्जिका, सौलभञ्जिका ॥ These are formed by ण्वल् affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुष्पमचायिका, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तवपुष्पमचायिका 'thy turn for &c,' which is formed by ण्वल् (III. 3. 111) and denotes 'rotation or turn'.

अणि नियुक्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणि, नियुक्ते, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्तउत्तरपदे नियुक्तवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

75. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the Kṛit-affix अण्, and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus छत्रधारः, ह्रीणीधारः, कैमण्डलुमाहः, रैत्रारधारः ॥ Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः, शरलावः ॥

शिल्पिनि चाकृञः ॥ ७६ ॥ शिल्पिनि, च, अकृञः, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिल्पिवाचिनि समासे ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति स चैव कृञो न भवति ॥

76. And when such a compound ending in अण् affix denotes the name of a professional man, but not when the second term is कार (derived from कृञ्), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus तैन्तुवायः, वैन्तुवायः, वैलवायः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a work-man or professional person'? Observe काण्डलावैः, शरलावैः ॥ Why do we say 'but not when the affix अण् comes after कृ'? Observe कुम्भकारैः, अयस्कारैः ॥

संज्ञायां च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे ऽकृञः पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

77. Also when such an upapada compound ending in अण् affix denotes a Name, the acute falls on the first syllable : but not when the second term is कार ॥

Thus तैन्तुवायः 'a kind of insect, spider'. वैलवायः 'the hill Vālavāya'. But not so अण् with कृ; as रथकारैः 'the name of a Brāhmaṇa caste'.

गोतान्तियथं पाले ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, तन्ति, यवम्, पाले, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो तन्ति यव इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पालशब्दउत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

78. The words गो, तन्ति and यव get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाल ॥

Thus गोपालः, तन्तिपालः, यवपालः ॥ The word तान्ति is the rope with which calves are tied. (तनु विस्तारे + तन्तिच्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c? Observe वत्सपालैः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by पाल'? Observe गोरक्षैः ॥

णिनि ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिनि, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युष्मात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ णिनन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युष्मात्तं भवति ॥

79. A compound ending in the Kṛit-affix णिनि (इन्) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus पुष्पहारिन्, कैलहारिन्, वैष्णवारिन् ॥

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानम्, शब्दार्थ, प्रकृतौ, एव, (आद्युष्मात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचि पूर्वपदं शब्दार्थ प्रकृतावेव णिनन्तउत्तरपदमाद्युष्मात्तं भवति ॥

80. When the first member of a compound expresses that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first syllable, before a word formed by णिनि affix, only then, when such latter word is a radical without any preposition, and means 'giving out a definite sound like so and so'.

The word उपमान means the object with which something is likened: शब्दार्थ means 'expressing a sound'; प्रकृति means 'root, without any preposition'. Thus ईड्मक्रोशिन्, ध्वङ्क्षरादिन्, खरनादिन् ॥ The word उपमान shows the scope of this sūtra as distinguished from the last. So that, when the first term is an उपमान word, the preceding sūtra will not apply, though the second member may be a णिनि formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As वृकवर्जिन्, वृकोप्रेक्षिन् which retain kṛit accent (VI. 2. 139) Why do we say 'a radical word without any preposition'? Observe गर्दभोष्ठादिन्, कोकिलभिष्याहारिन् ॥ Here the second terms radically (i. e. chārin and hārin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions उन् and अभि, वि and आ that they mean sound. The force of एव is that the उपमान words are restricted. Such words get acute on the first syllable *only then*, when the second member is a radical sound name. According to Patanjali, the first syllable gets acute, whether it denotes उपमान or not, when the second word is a radical denoting sound. (शब्दार्थ प्रकृतौ व्युपमानं चावुपमानं चाद्युष्मात्तमिष्यते) ॥ As पुष्कलजल्पिन्, for had एव not been used, the sūtra would have run

thus: उपमानं द्वाव्यर्थप्रकृतौ and would mean:—"If the second member is a sound denoting radical word, then the upamâna first member and no other will get the acute". But this is not what is intended : because when the second member is a sound-denoting radical, the first member will get the acute, whether it is upamâna word or not. The word एव therefore restricts upamâna; i. e. a first member denoting उपमानं will get the accent then only, when the second term is a sound-denoting radical. If the second term is not a sound denoting radical, the first term denoting upamâna will not get the accent. The compounding takes place by III. 2. 79.

युक्तारोह्यादयश्च ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः, च (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः समासा आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

81. The compounds युक्तारोहिन् &c, have acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवञ्ची, 5 आगतनर्ही, 6 आगतनन्ही, 7 आगतप्रहारी ॥ These are formed by णिनि affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these declare a restrictive rule with regard to the first and second member of these terms. Thus रोहिन् &c must be preceded by युक्त, &c and युक्त &c followed by रोहिन् &c to make this rule VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus वृक्षारोहिन् though ending in णिनि does not take acute on the first, so युक्ताध्ययिन् ॥ 8 आगतमस्या or °स्य, 9 क्षीरहोता, 10 भगिनीभर्ता ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. 11 भामगोधुक्, 12 अभ्यत्रिरात्रः, 13 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 14 व्युष्टिरात्रः, 15 गणपादः (गणपादः), 16 समपादः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. 17 एकक्षितिपात् = एकःक्षितिःपादोऽस्य ॥ This is a Bahuvrihi of three terms. The word एकक्षितिः is a TaddhitArtha Samāsa (II. 1. 51), and being a Tatpurusha, required acute on the final, as the Tatpurusha accent is stronger. This declares acute on the first. Moreover by VI. 2. 29, this word एकक्षितिः would have acute on the first, as it is a Dvigu ending in a simple vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvigu compounds in क्षिति are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore द्विक्षितिपाद् has acute on क्षिति ॥ The enumeration of the एकक्षितिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकक्षितिपात् स्वरचयनं ह्यपक्व निमित्तस्वरबलीयस्त्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahābhāṣya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as पात्रेसमित &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवञ्ची, 5 आगतनन्ही (आगतनर्ही), 6 आगतप्रहारी, 7 आगतमस्यः (आगतमस्या), 8 क्षीरहोता, 9 भगिनीभर्ता, 10 भामगोधुक्, 11 अभ्यत्रिरात्रः, 12 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 13 व्युष्टिरात्रः, 14 गणपादः (गणपादः), 15 एकक्षितिपात्, 16 पात्रेसमितादयश्च (पात्रेसमितादयश्च), 17 समपादः ॥

दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घ, काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र, वटम्, जे, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घान्तं पूर्वपदं काश तुष भ्राष्ट्र वट इत्येतानि च जडत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

82. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is काश, तुष, छाष्ट्र or घट, and is followed by ज, the acute falls on the first syllable.

Thus कुंदीजः, रौमीजः, कौषाजः, तुषजः, छाष्ट्रजः ईटजः These are formed by the affix इ added to जन् (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बहुचः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, बहुचः (उदात्तात् जे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अउत्तरपदे बहुचः पूर्वपदस्यान्त्यात्पूर्वशुदात्तं भवति ॥

83. In a word consisting of more than two syllables, followed by ज, the acute falls on the syllable before the last.

Thus उपसर्जः, मर्कुजः, आमलकीजः, and वर्डबाजः (though the last two words have upapadas ending in long vowel, the accent is governed by this sūtra and not the last). Why do we say "a Polysyllabic first member"? Observe वृन्धजानि वृणानि ॥

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामे, अनिवसन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति न चेन्निरसदवाचिभवति ॥

84. Before ग्राम, the first syllable of the first member has acute, when thereby inhabitants are not meant.

Thus मल्लग्रामः, वैणिग्रामः ॥ Here ग्राम is equal to समूह 'an assembly'. देवग्रामः = देवस्थानिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning inhabitants'. Observe दाक्षिग्रामः 'a village inhabited by the descendants of Daksha', माहिकग्रामः 'a village inhabited by Mahikas'.

घोषादिषु च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ घोषादिषु, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोषादिषु चोत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by घोष &c.

Thus दक्षिघोषः, दक्षिकटः, दक्षिपल्लवः, दक्षिबदरी, दक्षिवल्लभः, दक्षिद्वरः, दक्षिपिङ्गलः, दक्षिपिङ्गलः, दक्षिमाला, दक्षिरक्षा, दक्षिचाला, or (रक्षः or चालः), दक्षिचिल्पी, दक्षिभ्यः, दक्षि-शास्मली, कुन्दवृणम्, आश्रमशुनिः, दक्षिपुंसा, दक्षिकूटः ॥

Of the above, those which denote places of habitation, there the first members though denoting inhabitants get the acute accent. Some do not read the anuvritti of अनिवसन्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कट (घट), 3 वल्लभ (पल्लव), 4 द्वर, 5 बदरी (बदर), 6 पिङ्गल, 7 पिङ्गल, 8 माला, 9 रक्षा (रक्षः), 10 चाला (चालः), 11 कूट, 12 शास्मली, 13 अभ्यस्थ, 14 वृण, 15 चिल्पी, 16 शुनि, 17 प्रेक्षा (प्रेक्षाकूटः पुंसा) ॥

छात्र्याडयः शालायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छात्र्याडयः, शालायाम्, (आद्युदात्तात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालायाद्युत्तरपदे छात्र्याडय आद्युदात्ता भवति ॥

86. The words छात्रि &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word शाला ॥

Thus छात्रिशाला, ऐलिशाला, भाण्डिशाला ॥

Where the Tatpurusha compound ending in शाला becomes Neuter, by the option allowed in II. 4. 25 ; there also in the case of these words, the acute falls on the first syllable of the first term ; thus superseding VI. 2. 123 which specifically applies to Neuter Tatpurushas. Thus छात्रिशालम्, ऐलिशालम् ॥

1 छात्रि, 2 ऐलि (ऐलि), 3 भाण्डि, 4 व्याडि, 5 आखण्डि, 6 आदि, 7 गामि (गौमि) ॥

प्रस्थे ऽवृद्धमकर्क्यादीनाम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थे, अवृद्धम्, अकर्क्यादीनाम्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्ताम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थश्चत्तरपदे कर्क्यादिवर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

87. The first member, which has not a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, or which is not कर्की &c, gets the acute on the first syllable before प्रस्थ ॥

Thus ईन्द्रप्रस्थः, कुण्डप्रस्थः, ईशप्रस्थः, ईश्वणप्रस्थः ॥ But not in शक्तिप्रस्थः, माहिक-प्रस्थः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable ; nor also in कर्कीप्रस्थः मधीप्रस्थः &c.

1 कर्की, 2 मधी (मधी), 3 मकी, 4 कर्कन्धु (कर्कन्धू), 5 शमी, 6 कीर, 7 कन्दुक (कडुक), 8 कवल (कुवल ; कूरल), 9 बरी (बरर) ॥

मालादीनां च ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मालादीनाम्, च, (आदिः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थइति वर्त्तते । प्रस्थउत्तरपदे मालादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

88. The first syllable of माला &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus मालाप्रस्थः, शालाप्रस्थः ॥ This sūtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowel. In the words एक and शोणा the letters ए and ओ are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 ब्राह्मा, 5 ब्राह्मा, 6 शामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 शौमा ॥

अमहन्नवं नगरे ऽनुदीचाम् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, महत्, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदी-चाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरश्चत्तरपदे महन्नवश्चवर्जितं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति तच्चेदुदीचां न भवति ॥

89. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महत् or नव, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus ईद्वानगरम्, ईद्वानगरम्, ईद्वानगरम् ॥ But not in महानगरम् and नवनगरम्, Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe नान्दीनगरम् कान्तीनगरम् ॥

अर्मे चावर्णे द्व्यच्त्र्यच् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्मे, च, अवर्णम्, द्व्यच्, त्र्यच्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्मेऽब्जउत्तरपदे द्व्यच् त्र्यच् पूर्वपदमवर्णान्तिमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

90. A word of two or three syllables ending in अ or आ (with the exception of महा and नव), standing before the word अर्मे has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ईतार्मम्, ह्येतार्मम्, कुक्कुटार्मम्, वयसार्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)?' Observe बृहदर्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'consisting of two or three syllables'? Observe कपिञ्जलार्मम् ॥ The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महार्मम् and नवार्मम् ॥

नं भूताधिकसंजीवमद्राश्मकञ्जलम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्म, कञ्जलम्, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत अधिक संजीव मद्र अश्मन् कञ्जल इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि अर्मेऽब्जउत्तरपदे नाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे द्विवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before 'arma', viz: भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्मन् and कञ्जल ॥

Thus भूतार्मम्, अधिकार्मम्, संजीवार्मम्, मद्रार्मम्, अश्मार्मम्, मद्राश्मार्मम् (because the sūtra shows the compounding of those words in madrâsman) कञ्जलार्मम् ॥ All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vdt:—In the Vedas the words द्विवोदास &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus द्विवोदासाय गायत, वध्यध्वाय राशुषे ॥

अन्तः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

92. In the following sūtras upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive, is to be supplied the phrase "the last syllable in a word standing in the Nominative case has the acute".

This is an adhikāra aphorism. In the succeeding sūtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sūtra the word सर्व gets acute on the final. This adhikāra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

सर्वे गुणकात्स्न्ये ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वम्, गुण, कात्स्न्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं गुणकात्स्न्ये वर्त्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

93. The acute is on the final of the word सर्व standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of 'whole, through and through'.

Thus सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकृष्णः, सर्वमहात् ॥ Why do we say सर्व ? Observe परमश्वेतः, here the attribute of श्वेत pervades through and through the object referred : but the accent is not on the final of परम ॥ Why do we say 'attributive word' ? Observe सर्वसौवर्णः, 'golden', सर्वरजतः 'silvery', which do not denote any attribute in their original state but modification. In fact it is not गुणकात्स्न्य here at all, but a विकारकात्स्न्य ॥ Why do we use the word 'Kārtsnya or complete pervasion'. Observe सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तर्प् denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparative, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the "kārtsnya" is not that of "guṇa" but of "guṇī", not of the 'attribute', but of the 'substance'. *Objection*:—How do you form such a compound सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः, for it is prohibited by II. 2. 11. ? *Ans.* We do it on the strength of the following Vārtika गुणात्तरेण समासो वक्तव्यः, सरलोपम ॥

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, गिरि, निकाययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गिरि निकाय इत्येतथोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

94. The last syllable of the first member before गिरि and निकाय has the acute, when the compound is a Name.

Thus अञ्जनैर्गिरिः, भञ्जनैर्गिरिः, The finals of añjana and bhañjana are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. शापिर्दैनिकायः, मौर्षिर्दैनिकायः, चिखिर्दैनिकायः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name' ? Observe परमगिरिः, ब्राह्मणनिकायैः ॥

कुमार्या वयसि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार्याम्, वयसि, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार्यादुत्तरपदे वयसि गम्यमाने पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

95. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word कुमारी follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus वृद्धकुमारी 'an old maid'. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. अर्जतकुमारी ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with जरती ॥ The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by डीप् by IV. 1. 20 in denoting the prime of youth, how can this word be now applied to denote old age by being coupled with वृद्धा or जरती; it is a contradiction in terms. *Ans.* The word कुमारी has two senses; one denoting "a young maiden" and second "unmarried virgin". It is in the latter sense, that the attribute वृद्धा or जरती is applied. Why do we say "when the compound denotes age"? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

उदके ऽकेचले ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदके, अ, केचले, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकेचलं मिश्रं तद्वाचिनि समासे उदकशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

96. Before the word उदक, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गुडोदकम् or गुडोदकम्, तिलोदकम् or तिलोदकम् ॥ When we have already made the उ and ल acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute अ of गुडा and तिला and the subsequent grave उ of उदक, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word अक्कल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As क्षीतिप्रकम्, उष्णोदकम् ॥

द्विगौ क्रतौ ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, क्रतौ, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगवुत्तरपदे क्रतुवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

97. Before a Dvigu, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गर्गचिराच्चः, चारुचिराच्चः, कुसुविन्दसम्राजः = गगर्गां चिराच्चः &c. Why do we say 'before a Dvigu compound'? Observe अतिरात्रैः (रात्रिमतिक्रान्त इति प्राक्समासः) which being formed by the Samasânta affix अच् (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say 'when denoting a sacrifice'? Observe बिल्वसम्राजः = बिल्वशतस्य बिल्वहोमस्य वा सम्राजः ॥

सभायां नपुंसके ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाम्, नपुंसके, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दउत्तरपदे नपुंसकलिङ्गसमासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

98. Before the word सभा when it is exhibited as Neuter, the first member of the compound gets acute on the last syllable.

Thus गोपालसभम्, पशुपालसभम्, क्षीसभम्, शर्सीसभम्, गावडालसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'before सभा'? Observe ब्राह्मणसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'when in the Neuter'? Observe राजसभा, ब्राह्मणसभा ॥ The word सभा becomes Neuter under Rules II. 4. 23-24: therefore when the word सभा does not become Neuter under those rules, then by the maxim of Pratipadokta &c: the accent does not fall on the final of the preceding term as, रमणीयसभं, here the word सभा is neuter not by the force of any particular rules, but because the thing designated (अभिधेय) is neuter.

पुरे प्राचाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरे, प्राचाम्, (पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्दउत्तरपदे प्राचां देशे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

99. Before the word पुर, when the compound denotes a city of the Eastern People, the final of the first member has the acute.

Thus ललाटपुरम्, काँधीपुरम्, शिवदत्तपुरम्, कार्णपुरम्, नामपुरम् ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe शिवपुरम् ॥

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अरिष्ट, गौड, पूर्वे, च, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)
वृत्तिः ॥ अरिष्ट गौड इत्येवं पूर्वे समासे पुराशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

100. When the words अरिष्ट and गौड stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word पुर ॥

Thus अरिष्टपुरम्, गौडपुरम् ॥ By the force of the word पुर in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिष्टभित्तपुरम्, गौडभृतपुरम् ॥

न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हास्तिन, फलक, मार्देयाः, (अन्तोदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हास्तिन फलक मार्देय इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पुराण उत्तरपदे नान्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

101. But when the words हास्तिन, फलक and मार्देय precede पुर, the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2, 99. Thus हास्तिनपुरम्, फलकपुरम्, मार्देयपुरम् ॥ The son of वृद्धि is मार्देय formed by ङक्, the word belonging to Subhrādi class. The ङ is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ, शालम्, बिले ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कुसूल कूप कुम्भ शाला इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि बिलशब्दोत्तरपदे अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

102. The words कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ and शाला have the acute on the last syllable before the word बिल ॥

Thus कुसूलबिलम्, कूपबिलम्, कुम्भबिलम्, शालाबिलम् ॥ But not so here सर्व-बिलम् ॥ Why do we say 'before बिल'? Observe कुसूलशाली ॥

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्शब्दाः, ग्रामजनपदाख्यान, चानराटेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्शब्दः पूर्वपदानि अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ग्रामजनपदाख्यानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु चानराटशब्दे च ॥

103. Words expressing direction (in space or time) have acute on the last syllable, when followed by a word denoting a village, or a country or a narrative, and before the word चानराट ॥

Thus पूर्वपुत्रकामशाली, अपरपुत्रकामशाली or पूर्व and अपर (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वकृष्णवृत्तिका, अपरकृष्णवृत्तिका ॥ Country name—पूर्वपञ्चालाः, अपरपञ्चालाः ॥ These are Karmadhāraya compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name:—पूर्वाधिरामम् or पूर्वा, पूर्वयायातम्, पूर्वाधिरामकम्, अपरयायातम् ॥ So also पूर्वचानराटम्, अपर चानराटम् ॥ The employment of the term शब्द in the aphorism shows that time-denoting दिक् words as in पूर्वयायातं should also be included. The word आधिरामम् is derived from अधिराममधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासीनि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्ते-वासीनि, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासीवाचिन्युत्तरपदे दिक्शब्दा अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

104. The direction denoting words have acute on the final, before the names of scholars, when such names are derived from those of their teachers.

Thus पूर्वपाणिनीयाः, अपरंपाणिनीयाः, पूर्वकाशकृष्णाः, अपरंकाशकृष्णाः ॥ Compare VI. 2. 36 Why do we say 'when derived from the names of their Teachers'? Observe पूर्वशिष्याः ॥ Why do we say 'Scholar-names'? Observe पूर्वपाणिनीयं शास्त्रम् ॥ (पाणिनीयं शास्त्रं पूर्वं श्रित्तनम्) ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर-पद-वृद्धौ, सर्वम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या विहिता वृद्धिस्तदस्युत्तरपदे सर्वशब्दोदिकृत्सब्दाभ्यन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

105. Words denoting direction and the word सर्व have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vṛiddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the sūtra उत्तरपदस्य VII. 3. 10. 12, the Vṛiddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having झ्, ण् or क् follow, the Purvapada being सु, सर्व and अर्थ ॥ The word उत्तरपदवृद्धिः therefore, means that word which takes Vṛiddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapada, i. e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13. Thus पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरंपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः ॥ These are formed by डुम् affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say "which takes Vṛiddhi in the second term?" Had the word उत्तरपद not been used, then the sūtra would have run thus वृद्धौ सर्वं च, and would have applied to cases like सर्वमासः, सर्वकारकः where मासः and कारकः are Vṛiddha words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, विश्वम्, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे विश्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं संज्ञायां विषये ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

106. The word विश्व has acute on the final, being first member in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is a Name.

Thus विश्वदेवः, विश्वयज्ञाः, विश्वमहान् ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuvrīhi would have retained its original accent. Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi compound? Observe विश्वे च देवाः = विश्व-देवाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a name'? Observe विश्वदेवा अस्य = विश्वदेवः ॥ But विश्वामिदं and विश्वामिदं have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuvrīhi governs the succeeding sūtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive. The word विश्व is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix क्वन् added to विश् ॥ This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वदेवः, विश्वयज्ञाः and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in कुलमिश्रः, कुलमिश्रः ॥ But in विश्वामिश्रः and विश्वामिश्रः there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratishedha, VI. 2. 165 supercedes this,

उदराश्वेषु ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदर, अश्व, इषु पु ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उदर अश्व इषु इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोशात् भवति ॥

107. The first member in a Bahuvrīhi, before the words उदर, अश्व and इषु, gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus वृकोदरः, शोभोदरः, इर्यश्वः, यौवनोश्वः, सुवर्णपुङ्खलेषुः and मेहैषुः ॥ This sūtra is also an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first term would have retained its original accent. The word वृक् has acute on the first by Phit II. 7. The word शौम is formed by मनिन् affix (Uṇ IV. 145) and is first acute; हैरि is also first acute as formed by इन् (Uṇ IV. 118). The word यौवन if considered as an underived primitive, has acute on the first by Phit II. 19. If it be considered as derived from युवन् with the affix अण् then it is already end-acute and would retain its accent even by VI. 2. 1. The first Bahuvrīhi word सुवर्ण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrīhi compound सुवर्णपुङ्खाः has acute on ण by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrīhi with इषु gets accent on ख ॥ The word महत् is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्षेपे ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने उदरादिषु उत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोशात् भवति ॥

108. A word before उदर, अश्व and इषु in a Bahuvrīhi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus कुण्डोदरः, घटोदरः, कटुकाश्वः, स्यान्निर्ताश्वः, अनिघातोषुः, चलाचलेषुः ॥ The word कुण्ड has acute on the first as it is a Neuter name (Phit II. 3), and it would have retained this accent in the Bahuvrīhi by VI. 2. 1. but for this sūtra. The word घट is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) and has acute on the final, and so it would have retained this accent by VI. 2. 1. even with out this sūtra. The word कटुक being formed by कन् (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. स्यान्निर्त is formed by the Nishṭā affix क्त ॥ The word अनिघात being an avyayibhāva, the first member would have retained its original accent. In this and the last sūtra, all the acutes may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अतुर्दरः and सूर्यः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sūtra, supersedes this present, so far as अन् and सु are concerned.

नदी बन्धुनि ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नदी, बन्धुनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे बन्धुन्युत्तरपदे नद्यन्तं पूर्वपदमन्तोशात् भवति ॥

109. In a Bahuvrīhi compound having the word बन्धु as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine affix ई (नदी word) has the acute on its final syllable.

Thus गार्गीबन्धुः, वार्त्सीबन्धुः ॥ The words गार्गी and वार्त्सी are formed by adding डीप् (IV. 1. 16) to गार्ग्य and वार्त्स्य ending in यम् (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present sūtra. Why do we say “a Nadi (Feminine in ई) word”? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धुः, the word ब्रह्म has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say “before बन्धु”? Observe गार्गीमियः ॥

निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वम्, अन्य-तरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे निष्ठान्तपुसर्गपूर्वे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यामन्तोऽक्षत्तं भवति ॥

110. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, a Participle in क preceded by a preposition, standing as the first member of the compound, has optionally acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रथोतदुलः or प्रथोतदुलैः (VI. 2. 169), or प्रथोतदुलः (VI. 2. 49 and 1) प्रक्षालितपादः or प्रक्षालितपादः ॥ When the word दुल means (mouth) then by VI. 2. 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable लः ॥ When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI. 2. 49 the acute falls on प्र, which accent is retained (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say “a Nishṭhā”? Observe प्रसरकदुलः which is acute in the middle by the kṛit accent being retained after प्र (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say ‘preceded by a preposition’? Observe शुष्कदुलम् which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

उत्तरपदादिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर, पदादिः, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरेत्येतदधिकृतम् । यस्मिन् उर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्याम उत्तरपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

111. In the following sūtras, upto VI. 2. 136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase “the first syllable of the second member has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra aphorism and the word उत्तरपद exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word आदि has scope upto VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णः, वर्ण, लक्षणात्, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे वर्णवाचिनो लक्षणवाचिनश्च कर्णशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

112. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, the word कर्ण standing as second member, has acute on the first syllable, when it is preceded by a word denoting color or mark.

Thus with color we have शुक्लकर्णः, कृष्णकर्णः, and with mark-name, we have शार्ङ्गकर्णः शङ्खकर्णः, the lengthening of शङ्ख and शङ्कु takes place by VI. 3. 115.

The marks of 'scythe', 'arrow' &c, are made on the ears of cattle to mark and distinguish them. It is such a 'mark' which is meant here, therefore, the rule does not apply to स्थूलकर्णः ॥ Why do we say कर्ण ? Observe श्वेतपादः, कूटशृङ्गः here श्वेत being formed by अच् (II. 1. 134) is end-acute, and कूट being formed by कृ (III. 1. 135) is also end-acute and these accents are retained in the compound. Why do we say "when preceded by a word denoting color or mark"? Observe शोभनपादः where शोभन being formed by शुच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, औपम्ययोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामौपम्ये च यो बहुव्रीहिर्वर्तते तत्र कर्णशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति संज्ञायाम् ॥

113. In a Bahuvrīhi the second member कर्ण has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कुञ्चिकर्णः, मणिकर्णः, are Names: गोकर्णः, खरकर्णः denote resemblance i. e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घं च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा, जङ्घा, च, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठ पृष्ठ ग्रीवा जङ्घा इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञौपम्ययोराद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

114. In a Bahuvrīhi expressing a Name or comparison, the second members कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा and जङ्घा have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: शितिकण्ठः, नीलकण्ठः ॥ Comparison खरकण्ठः, उष्ट्रकण्ठः ॥ Name काण्डपृष्ठः, नाकपृष्ठः ॥ Resemblance गोपृष्ठः, अजपृष्ठः ॥ Name सुग्रीवः, नीलग्रीवः, वशग्रीवः ॥ Resemblance गोग्रीवः, अश्वग्रीवः ॥ Name नाडीजङ्घः, तालजङ्घः ॥ Resemblance गोजङ्घः, अश्वजङ्घः, एजीजङ्घः ॥

The sūtra कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घ is in Neuter gender, and अच् is shortened as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva. In the case of सुग्रीव, the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on ग्री ॥

शृङ्गमवस्थायां च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृङ्गम्, अवस्थायाम्, च (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृङ्गशब्द उत्तरपदमवस्थायां संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च बहुव्रीहौ आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

115. In a Bahuvrīhi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member शृङ्ग gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus उदगतशृङ्गः, द्व्यङ्गुलशृङ्गः, अङ्गुलशृङ्गः ॥ Here the word शृङ्ग denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name:—अव्यशृङ्गः comparison: गोशृङ्गः, मेघशृङ्गः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'. Observe स्थूलशृङ्गः ॥

नञो जरमरमित्रमृताः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, जर, मर, मित्र, मृताः, (आ-
द्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ उच्चरे जरमरमित्रमृता बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrīhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृत ॥

Thus अर्जरः, अमरः, अमित्रः and अमृतः ॥ Why do we say after a Negative Particle? Observe ब्राह्मणमित्रः ॥ Why do we say “जर &c”. Observe अशार्दुः when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, मन्-असी, अ लोम, उषसी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोरुत्तरमनन्तमसन्तं च बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति लोमोषसीवर्जयित्वा ॥

117. After the adjective सु in a Bahuvrīhi, a stem ending in मन् and अस्, with the exception of लोमन् and उषस् has acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुकर्मन्, सुधर्मन्, सुप्रथिमन्, सुपयस्, सुयशास्, सुस्रोतस् so also सुर्जन् and सुध्वन् from the root ऋस् and ध्वस् with the affix क्तिप् ॥ The final स् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asiddha for the purposes of accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in अस् ॥ Why do we say ‘after सु?’ Observe कृतकर्मन्, कृतयशास् ॥ Why do we say ‘ending in मन् and अस्?’ Observe सुराजन् and सुतक्षन् formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), and the accent is on ञ and त, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोमन् and उषस्? Observe सुलोर्मन् and सुवृक्ष (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here : अनितस्मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तर्विधि प्रयोजयन्ति “whenever अन्, or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in Grammar, denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there (अन्, इन्, अस् and मन्) represent these combinations of letters, both in so far as they possess and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning”. Therefore the मन् and अस् void of meaning are also included here. Thus धर्मन् is formed by मन् (Uṇ I. 140), but कर्मन् is formed by कनिन् (Uṇ IV. 145), and प्रथिमन् is formed by इमनिष् affix (V. 1. 122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यशास् is formed by अयुन् (Uṇ IV. 191), and so also स्रोतस् (Uṇ IV. 202); but in सुध्वस् (सुध्वस् from ध्वस् with the affix क्तिप् III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस् is here part of the root. But when the samāsānta affix कप् is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding कप्, for there the subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus सुकर्मकः, सुस्रोतकः ॥

क्रत्वादयश्च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रत्वादयः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रत्वादयः सोरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ।

118. After सु in a Bahuvrīhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of क्तु &c.

Thus सुकैतुः, सुहृशीकः, सुर्मूर्तिः, सुहैव्यः, सुर्मैगः, सुर्मैतकिः ॥

आद्युदात्तं द्वयच्छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्युदात्तम्, द्वयच्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तं द्वय उपास्यं बहुव्रीहौ समासे सौरुत्तरं तदाद्युदात्तमेव भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

119. In a Bahuvrīhi compound in the Chhandas, a word of two syllables with acute on the first syllable, when preceded by सु, gets acute on the first syllable.

In other words, such a word retains its accent. Thus:—स्वइवासिन्धुः सुरया सुवासा (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here ईवश्च and सुरयः have acute on अ and र, which they had originally also, for अश्च and रय are formed by कृन् (Uṇ I. 151) and क्यन् (Uṇ II. 2) respectively and have the निन् accent (VI. I. 197). Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe या सुंवाहुः स्वंइयुरिः (Rig II. 32. 7). Here बाहु has acute on the final (Uṇ I. 27 formed by उ affix and has the accent of the affix III. I. 3). Why do we say 'having two syllables'? Observe सुयुरस्तन्, सुंहण्यः ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

वीरवीर्यौच ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वीर, वीर्यौ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वीर वीर्य इत्येतौ च शब्दौ सौरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ समासे छन्दसि विषये आद्युदात्तौ भवतः ॥

120. In a Bahuvrīhi compound in the Chhandas, after सु, the words वीर and वीर्य have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुवीरेण ते, सुवीरस्ते जनिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुवीर्यैस्त्वद्व्यस् (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुवीर्य has acute on वी ॥ So also सुवीर्यस्य पत्नयः स्याम ॥ The word वीर्य is formed by यन् affix and by VI. I. 213, it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this sūtra shows that Rule VI. I. 213 does not apply to वीर्य ॥ The word वीर्य has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the secular literature it is Ādyudatta.

कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष, समम्, अव्ययीभावे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल तीर तूल मूल शाला अक्ष सम इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि अव्ययीभावसमासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

121. In an Avyayibhāva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable : कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष and सम ॥

Thus परिकूलम्, उपकूलम्, परितीरम्, उपतीरम्, परितूलम्, उपतूलम्, परिमूलम्, उपमूलम्, परिशालम्, उपशालम्, उपाक्षम्, पर्यक्षम्, सुषमम्, विषमम्, निषमम् and दुषमम् ॥ These last four are to be found in Tishṭhadgu class of compounds (II. I. 17). Why do we say 'कूल &c'? Observe उपकुम्भम् ॥ Why do we say "in an Avyayibhāva

compound?" Observe परमकूलम्, उत्तमकूलम् ॥ After the prepositions परि, प्रति, उप and अय, the words कूल &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present sūtra supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कूल &c and not on the Prepositions.

कंसमन्यशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विचगौ ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंस, मन्य, शूर्प, पाय्य, काण्डम्, द्विचगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंस मन्य शूर्प पाय्य काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि द्विगौ समासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

122. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable :—कंस, मन्य, शूर्प, पाय्य and काण्ड ॥

Thus द्विकंसः, (शब्दां कंसांश्च क्रीतः the affix दिक् V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिकंसः, द्विमन्यः, (the affix इक् V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिमन्यः, द्विशूर्पः, (the affix अम् V. 1. 26 is elided) द्विपाय्यः, त्रिपाय्यः, द्विकाण्डः, त्रिकाण्डः ॥ Why do we say in a Dvigu? Observe परमकंसः, उत्तमकंसः ॥

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, शालायाम्, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालाशब्दान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

123. The word शाला at the end of a Tatpurusha compound when exhibited in the Neuter has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ब्राह्मणशालम्, क्षत्रियशालम् ॥ The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe इदंशालं ब्राह्मणकुलम् which is a Bahuvrihi compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2. 1, and as the first member is a Nisṭhā word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say "the word शाला?" Observe ब्राह्मणसेनम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Neuter'? Observe ब्राह्मणशाला ॥ Compare VI. 2. 86.

कन्या च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्या, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कयाशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

124. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्या, the acute falls on the first syllable of the second member.

Thus सौशमिकन्यम्, आह्वरकन्यम्, अप्यकन्यम् ॥ The word सौशमिः denotes the descendant of सुशमः (शोभनः शमो बन्ध) आह्वर is formed by the preposition आ with the verb ह्व् and the affix क (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have शशिकन्या ॥

अदिष्टिहणादीनाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, चिहणादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्यान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिहणादीनामादिशब्दो भवति ॥

125. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्या, the first syllable of चिहण &c have the acute.

As चिह्नकन्यम्, मैडकन्यम्, मैडकन्यम् ॥ The repetition of the word आहि in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the *first member* gets the acute. The word चिह्न is derived from the root चिनाति with क्विप् which gives चित् and ह्न is formed by adding भञ् (III. i. 134) to हन् ॥ चित् + ह्न = चिह्न the elision of त् is irregular.

चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेल, खेट, कटुक, काण्डम्, गर्हायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चेल खेट कटुक काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तस्यरूपे समासे गर्हायां गम्यमानायामाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

126. The words चेल, खेट, कटुक and काण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुत्रचेलम्, भार्याचेलम्, उपानतखेटम्, नगरखेटम्, (खेट इति तृणनाम, तद्वद् दुर्बला उपानत्) अधिकैडकम् (कटुकमस्वादु) उरस्थितकैडकम्, भूतकाण्डम् (काण्डमिति धरनाम, तद्यथा सत्वपीडाकर मेवं भूतमपि) प्रजाकाण्डम् ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रचेलमिव i. e. चेलवत् तुच्छम् and the compounding takes place under II. i. 56: the Vyaghrādi class being an akṛti-gaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

चीरमुपमानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चीरमुत्तरपदमुपमानवाचि तस्यरूपे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

127. The word चीर, at the end of a Tatpurusha, has acute on the first syllable, when something is compared with it.

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमिव = वस्त्रचीरम्, पटचीरम्, कम्बलचीरम् ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant?' Observe परमचीरम् ॥

पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलल, सूप, शाकम्, मिश्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलल सूप शाक इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि मिश्रवाचिनि तस्यरूपे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

128. In a Tatpurusha ending in पलल, सूप and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus गुडपललम्, घृतपललम्, घृतसूपः, मूलकसूपः, घृतशौकम्, घृतशौकम् = गुडेन मिश्रं पललं &c. The compounding takes place by II. i. 35. Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned?' Observe परमपललम् ॥

कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, सूद, स्थल, कर्षाः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल सूद स्थल कर्ष इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तस्यरूपे समासे संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

129. The words कूल, सूद, स्थल and कर्ष have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name.

Thus शसिकूलम्, आहिकूलम्, देवसूदम्, भाजीसूदम्, शण्डायनस्थली, माहिकस्थली, शसिकर्षः ॥ All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 42). When not a name we have परमकूलम् ॥

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, कर्मधारये, राज्यम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयवर्जिते तत्पुरुषे समासे राज्यमित्येतदुत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

130. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhāraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम्, क्षत्रियराज्यम् ॥ In a Karmadhāraya we have परमराज्यम् ॥ The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent, As कुचेलम्, कुंराज्यम् ॥

वर्ग्यादयश्च ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ग्यादयः, च, (आद्युदात्तानि)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ग्य इत्येवमाशीन्युत्तरपदानि अकर्मधारये तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

131. At the end of a non-Karmadhāraya Tatpurusha compound, the words वर्ग्य &c have acute on the first syllable,

Thus वासुदेववर्ग्यः, वासुदेवपक्ष्यः, अर्जुनवर्ग्यः, अर्जुनपक्ष्यः ॥ In a Karmadhāraya we have परमवर्ग्यः ॥ The words वर्ग्य &c are nowhere exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्ग, वृक्ष, गण &c sub-division of विगारि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with वन् affix.

पुत्रः पुत्रभ्यः ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रः, पुत्र्यः (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दः पुंशब्देभ्य उत्तरस्तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

132. The word पुत्र coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus कौनटिपुत्रः, रामकपुत्रः, माहिषपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say 'a पुत्र' ? Observe कौनटिमातुलः ॥ Why do we say 'after a masculine word' ? Observe नार्गीपुत्रः, मात्सीपुत्रः ॥

नाचार्यराजत्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आचार्य्य, राज, ऋत्त्विक, संयुक्त, ज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्य उपाध्यायः । राजा ईश्वरः । ऋत्विजो याजकाः । संयुक्ताः स्त्रीसंबन्धिनः श्यालादयः । ज्ञातयो मातृपितृसंबन्धिनो बान्धवाः । आचार्याद्याख्येभ्यः परः पुत्रशब्दो नाद्युदात्तो भवति ।

133. The word पुत्र has not acute on the first syllable, when preceded by a word which falls under the category of teachers, kings, priests, wife's relations, and agnates and cognates.

The word आचार्य means 'teacher', राजा 'prince, king', ऋत्विज् 'a sacrificing priest', संयुक्ताः 'relations through the wife's side' as दयाल 'brother-in-law' &c; ज्ञाति means 'all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations'. The word आख्या shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of 'teacher' &c, as well as to particular 'teacher' &c. Thus आचार्यपुत्रैः, उपाध्यायपुत्रैः, शाकटावनकपुत्रैः, राजपुत्रैः, ईश्वरपुत्रैः, नन्दपुत्रैः, ऋत्विक्पुत्रैः, याजकपुत्रैः, होतृपुत्रैः, (VI. 3. 23) संयुक्तपुत्रैः, संबन्धिपुत्रैः, श्यालकपुत्रैः, ज्ञातिपुत्रैः, भ्रातृपुत्रैः (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पुत्र taught in the last sūtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. 1. 2 23.

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णादीनि, अ, प्राणि, षष्ठ्याः, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदातिरिति वर्त्तते तत्पुरुष इति च । चूर्णादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिवाचिनः षष्ठ्यन्तान्प्राणि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

134. The words चूर्ण &c, in a Tatpurusha compound have acute on the first syllable, when the preceding word ends in a Genitive and does not denote a living being.

Thus पुत्रचूर्णम्, मत्स्यचूर्णम्, but मत्स्यचूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपमहात्, the word उपमह being the ancient name of षष्ठी given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिव, 3 करिप, 4 शाकिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 तूस्त, 8 कुन्दुम् (कुन्दम्), 9 हलप, 10 चमसी, 11 चकन (चकन चकन), 12 चोल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूरी शहे (Div 50) with the affix क् ; करिव and करिप are formed with the upapada करि and the verbs वा 'to go' and पा 'to protect' respectively, and the affix क (करिण्वति = करिव) (III. 2. 3); शक् with the affix इनङ् added diversely (Uṇ II. 56); शक् with भटच् (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शकट; this with अङ् (तद्वहति) gives शाकट; द्राक् क्षरति = द्राक्षा (Prishodarādi); तुस् (शब्दे) with क् gives तूस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix ङिप added to the root दु with the upapada कु (कुन्दुनोति कुस्तिनं वा दुनोति) the augment मुष् being added to कु ॥ कुन्दुं निमीते = कुन्दुम् ॥ हल with the affix कपन् gives हलपः, चम with असच् forms चमस, then is added ङीष्; चकन is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to कन् and reduplication. चोलस्यापत्यं = चोलः ॥

षट् च काण्डादीनि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, च, काण्डादीनि, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षट् पूर्वोक्तानि काण्डादीन्युत्तरपदान् अप्राणिषष्ठ्या आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पल्ल, सूप, शाक and कुल of Sûtras VI. 2. 126-129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As र्भकौण्डम्, शारकौण्डम्; र्भक्षौरम्, कुशचौरम् ॥ In the last two examples शार is not used as a comparison, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपल्लम्, मूलकशार्कम्, दुग्धसूपः ॥ Here पल्ल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नन्दीकुलम्, सद्युक्कुलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2, 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe राजसूयः ॥

कुण्डं वनम् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुण्डम्, वनम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डशब्देन कुण्डसादृश्येन वने वर्तते । कुण्डमित्येतदुत्तरपदं वनवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

136. The word कुण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'a wood or forest', has acute on the first syllable.

The word कुण्ड here denotes 'a wood' by metaphor. Thus र्भक्षकुण्डम्, शारकुण्डम् ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe वृक्षकुण्डम् ॥ The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kunḍa. Some say it means 'forest' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of सद्युदाय, i. e. शारवणसद्युदायः = शारकुण्डम् ॥

प्रकृत्या भगालम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, भगालम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भगालवाच्युत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

137. The word भगाल at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of भगाल are also included. As कुम्भीभगालम्, कुम्भीकौशलम्, कुम्भीनौशलम् ॥ The words भगाल &c. have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्य governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शितेर्नित्याबह्वृ बह्व्रीहावभसत् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शितेः, नित्य, अबह्वृ, बह्व्रीहौ, अभसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शितेरुत्तरपदे नित्ये यदबह्वृ भसच्छब्दवर्जितं बह्व्रीहौ समासे तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

138. After शिति, a word retains in a Bahuvrīhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of भसद् ॥

Thus चित्तिपादः, चित्त्यसः, चित्त्योष्ठः ॥ The word पाद belongs to वृषदि class (VI. 1. 203) and has acute on the first, and अंसः and ओष्ठः being formed by सन् (Uṇ V. 21) and यन् (Uṇ II. 4) affixes, have acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'after चित्ति'? Observe दृशनीयपादः which being formed by the affix अनीयर् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. 1. 217 ॥ Why do we say 'always'? Observe चित्तिककुत्, for though ककुत् is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of ककुद, the final द being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting 'age', we have चित्तिककुदः, hence this word is not such which is *always* of two syllables. The word चित्ति has acute on the first syllable, by Phiṣ II. 10, and retains this accent in the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say 'abahvach or not many-syllable'? Observe चित्तिल्लाटः ॥ Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi? Observe चित्तेः पादः = चित्तिपादः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of भसन्'? Observe चित्तिभसन् ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, कारक, उपपदात्, कृत, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषइति वर्जते न बहुव्रीहिविति । गतेः कारकादुपपदाच्च कृदन्तशुभ्रपरं तत्पुरुषे समाप्ते प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

139. In a Tatpuruṣa, a word ending in a Kṛit-affix preserves its original accent, when preceded by an Indeclinable called Gati (I. 4. 60), or a noun standing in intimate relation to a verb (Kāraka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

The above is according to Professor Bohtlingk. Thus प्रकर्करः, प्रकर्करणम्, प्रहर्करः, प्रहर्करणम् ॥ The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With kāraka-word we have :—इध्मव्रश्चनः, पलाशशौतनः, इमशुकैल्पनः (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have :—ईषत्कर्करः, दुष्कर्करः, सुकर्करः ॥ All these are formed by लिङ् affixes and the accent is governed by VI. 1. 193. i. e. the word व्रश्चन is formed by ल्युट् (इध्मं प्रवृ-ञ्च्यते येन); so also with शौतन (पलाशानि शौत्यन्ते येन स इण्डः); so also with कल्पन (इमंशु कल्पते येन स क्षुरादिः) Why do we say "after a Gati, Kāraka, or an Upapada word?" Observe देवदत्तस्यकारकः = देवदत्तकारकः ॥ Here the Genitive in देवदत्त does not express a kāraka relation. The genitive is here a शेष लक्षणा षष्ठी denoting a possessor and not a कर्मलक्षणा one: for had it been latter, there would have been no compounding at all, by II. 2. 16. see also II. 3. 65. The word कृत् is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness; for a gati, karaka or upapada could not be followed by any other word than a kṛit-formed word, if there is to be a samāsa. For two sorts of affixes come after a root (dhātu) namely लिङ् and कृत् ॥ A samāsa can take place with kṛit-formed words, but

not with *tiñanta* words. So that without employing कृत् in the sūtra, we could have inferred that कृत् was meant. Therefore, it is said the 'Kṛit' is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in प्रपचतितराम्, प्रपचतितमाम्, by saying that first compounding takes place with प्र and the words पचतितर and पचतितम ending in तरप् and तमप् and then आम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by आम् by the rule of सत्तिषाट् (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृत् is taken in this sūtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रैपचति वेद्यः, or प्रैपचति वेद्यादि (V. 3. 67), or प्रैपचातिरूपम् (V. 3. 66). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

उभे घनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, घनस्पत्यादिषु, युगपत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्येति वर्त्तते । घनस्पत्यादिषु समासेषु उभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे युगपत् प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

140. In घनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus घनस्पतिः, both घन and पति have acute on the first syllable, and सुद् augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) बृहस्पतिः or बृहस्पतिः = बृहतां पतिः (VI. 1. 157) The word बृहन् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) सचीर्षतिः (Sachī being formed by ङीष्), some make Sachī acute on the first सचीर्षतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तनूर्नेपात् (tanū being formed by ऊ Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and napāt = na pāti or na palayati with क्तिप् and has acute on the first). (5) नैराहंसः नरा अस्मिन्नासीनाः शंसन्ति or नरा एव शंसन्ति (nara is formed by अप् and has acute on the first, Saṁsa is formed by घञ्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) शूनः शेषः = शून इव शेषोऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi : the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vārt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) सण्डामैकी both 'Sanda' and 'Marka' being formed by घञ् have acute on the first: the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) तृष्णावर्त्तनी ॥ Tṛiṣṇa has acute on the first, वर्त्तनी has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बाविश्ववयसौ ॥ Bamba is finally acute, and viśva by VI. 2. 106 has acute on the final, as viśvavayas is a Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place as before by VI. 3. 137. (10) मर्मस्तुः ॥ मर् is formed by विच् affix and मृत्पु has acute on the final. The words governed by this sūtra are those which would not be included in the next two sūtras.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता, द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र युगपदुभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus, ईन्द्रासौमी, ईन्द्रावैरुणौ, ईन्द्राब्रह्मस्पती ॥ The word इन्द्र has acute on the first (by nipatana), सोम is formed by मन् (Uṇ I. 140), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), षरुण is formed by उनन् (Uṇ III. 53) and by VI. 1. 197 has acute on the first. ईहस्पति has two acutes by VI. 2. 140, and Indra-Brihaspati has three acutes. Why do we say "names of divinities"? Observe पक्षन्धयो ॥ Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe अग्निदोमः ॥

नोत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उत्तरपदे, अनुदात्तादौ, अ पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूष, मन्थिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादौ पृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु अङ्गिते देवताद्वन्द्वे नोभे युगपत्प्रकृतिस्थे भवतः ॥

142. In a Dvandva compound of the names of divinities, both members of the compound simultaneously do not retain their accent, when the first syllable of the second word is anudatta, with the exception of पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूषन्, and मन्थिन् ॥

Thus इन्द्राग्नी, इन्द्रवायू, the words Agni and Vāyu have acute on the final. The word uttarapada is repeated in the sūtra, in order that it should be qualified by the word 'anudattādaṁ', which latter would otherwise have qualified Dvandva. The word "anudattādaṁ" shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction. Why do we say with the exception of 'prithivī' &c? Observe द्यावापृथिव्यौ or द्यौः dvyāvā has acute on the first, 'prithivī' being formed by 'niśh', has acute on the final. सौमारेन्द्रौ, Rudra is formed by 'rak' affix (Uṇ II. 22.), and has acute on the final. ईन्द्रापूषणौ, Pūshan has acute on the end. (Uṇ I. 159) सुक्रामन्थिनौ, the words Śukra and manthin have acute on the final.

अन्तः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकारो यदित् कर्म्ममनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्र समासस्योत्तरपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं सर्वेक्षितव्यम् ॥

143. In the following sūtrās up to the end of the chapter, should always be supplied the phrase "the last syllable of the second member has the acute".

The application is given in the next sūtra.

थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अण्, इञ्, काणाम्, (अन्त उदात्तः,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ थ अथ घञ् क्त अञ् अण् इञ् क् इत्येवमन्तानामुत्तरपदानां गतिकारकोपपशस्येषामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अण्, इञ् and क्, when preceded by a Gati, a Kāraka or an Upapada (VI. 2. 139).

Thus सुनीयैः, भवयैः formed by क्यन् affix (Uṇ II. 2 and 3), and but for this sūtra, by VI. 2. 139 these words would have retained their original accent which was acute on the first. भयः—भावस्यैः, उपवस्यैः formed by अयन् affix (Uṇ III. 116). घम्—प्रभैः, काष्ठभैः, रज्जुभैः ॥ क्तः—दूरादागतैः, Here क्त has the force of कर्म, and the gati आ would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, आगत is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kāraka word dūra, but for this sūtra. विद्युर्कैः आतपद्युर्कैः ॥ भष् (III. 3. 56) :—प्रक्षयैः, प्रजयैः, the words क्षय 'dwelling', and जय 'victory' are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). भष्—प्रलवैः, प्रसवैः ॥ इच—प्रलविर्त्रैः, प्रसविर्त्रैः ॥ क—खरिवृषैः गोवृषैः—गां वर्षति, खरिं वर्षति (III. 2. 5 VArt) : प्रवृषैः, प्रहृषैः, (क being added by III. 1. 135). The word वृष has acute on the first as it belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, Kāraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply : as सुस्तुतं भवता, भतिस्तुतं भवता, where सु and भति being Karmapravachaniya, the words get the accent of the Indeclinable.

सूपमानात् कः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, उपमानात्, कः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सु इत्येतन्मादुपमानाच्च परं क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

145. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when it is preceded by सु or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus सुकृतैः, सुधुक्तैः, सुधीतैः ॥ With Upamāna words we have—वृकाव-
लुप्तैः, बाधालुप्तैः, सिद्धिर्वादिताम् ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When सु is not a Gati, the rule does not apply, as सुस्तुतैः भवता ॥

संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, अनाचितादीनाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गतिकारकोपपदान् क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति आचितादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

146. The Participle in 'kta' has acute on the last syllable, when preceded by a Gati, or a Karaka or an Upapada, if the compound denotes a Name, but not in आचित &c.

Thus संभूतौ रामायणः, उपभूतैः शाकल्यः, परिजयैः कौण्डिन्यः ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49, धनुष्यार्तो नदी, कुशल्यार्तम् नगरम्, हस्तिवृद्धितो भूमिः ॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred. Why do we say "when it is not आचित &c" Observe औप्यितम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पर्याचित, 3 आस्थापित, 4 परिगृहीत, 5 निरुक्त, 6 प्रतिपन्न, 7 अपश्लिष्ट*, 8 प्रश्लिष्ट, 9 उपहित (उपहत) 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितागवि (संहिताशाब्दे यदा गौरवस्य संज्ञा तदन्तोदात्तो न भवति । यदा तु गोः संज्ञा तदन्तोदात्त एव ॥)

The word संहिता in the above list does not take acute on the final, when it is the name of anything else than a 'cow'; but when it denotes 'a cow' it has acute on the final.

प्रवृद्धादीनां च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवृद्धादीनाम्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवृद्धादीनां च क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

147. The words प्रवृद्ध &c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धं यानम्, प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, प्रयुक्तोः सक्तवः, आकर्वेऽवहितः, अवहितो भोगेषु, खट्वा-
रूढः, कविशस्तः ॥ It is an Akritigaṇa. The words have acute on the final, even
when not followed by यान &c, though in the Ganapāṭha they are read along
with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with यान &c that these
words have acute on the final. This being an Akritigaṇa we have पुनस्तद्धृतं
वासोदेयं, पुनर्निष्कृता रयः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं यानम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुक्तासृज्यवः or प्रयुक्ताः सक्तवः 4 आकर्वेऽवहितः, 5
अवहितो भोगेषु, 6 खट्वारूढः 7 कविशस्तः, आकृतिगण.

कारकादुत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारकात्, दत्त, श्रुतयोः, एव,
आशिषि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामिनि वर्तते, न्न इति च । संज्ञायां विषये आशिषि गम्यमानायां कारकादुत्तरयोरेव श्रुतयोरेव
कान्तयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

148. The final of Part Participles दत्त and श्रुत alone
has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction,
the preceding word being a word standing in close relation to
an action (kâraka).

Thus देवा एनदेयासुः = देवदत्तैः, विष्णुरेवं श्रूयाद् = विष्णुश्रुतैः ॥

Why do we say "of दत्त and श्रुत"? Observe देवैर्पालितः (VI. 2. 48), which,
though a Name, is not governed by VI. 2. 146, and does not take acute on the
final, for the present rule makes a restriction with regard to that rule even.
So that where a Participle in क्त is preceded by a kâraka, and the compound
denotes a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required
by VI. 2. 146, but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, unless the Participle
be Datta and Śruta, when the present rule applies. The word कारक indicates that
the rule will not apply when a gati or upapada precedes. Why do we use 'एव
(alone)'? So that the restriction should apply to 'kâraka', and not to 'Datta' and
'Śruta'. For the words 'Datta' and 'Śruta' will have acute on the final even after
a nonkâraka word. As संश्रुतैः, विश्रुतैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting benedi-
ction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As देवैः खाता =
देवखाता ॥ This rule applies to Datta and Śruta after a kâraka-word, only when
benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to देवैर्दत्त 'the name of
Arjuna's conch', as आहोतनश्चि देवैर्दत्तः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिति च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूतेन, कृतम्, इति, च, (अ-
न्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इमं प्रकारमापन्न इत्थंभूतः । इत्थंभूतेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः समासो वर्तते तत्र कान्तमुत्तरपद-
सन्तोषाच्च भवति ॥

149. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final,
when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition':

The word इत्थंभूत means 'being in such a condition'. Thus सुप्तप्रलपितम्, उन्मत्तप्रलपितम्, प्रमत्तगतिम्, विपन्नभुर्तम् as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलपित &c are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव, then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनो भावकर्मवचनः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, भाव, कर्मवचनः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अन प्रत्ययान्तवृत्तत्वेन भाववचनं कर्मवचनं च कारकात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

150. After a kâraka as mentioned in VI. 2. 148, the second member ending in the affix अन, and denoting an action in the Abstract or the object (i. e. having the senses of a Passive Adjective), has acute on the final.

Thus भोदनभोजनं सुखम्, पयपानं सुखम्, चन्दनप्रियङ्गुकालेपनं सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनः, शालयः, राजाच्छादनं वा-सांसी, are examples of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by ल्युट् under III. 3. 116. For the Sâtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) ल्युट् is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhâva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhâva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say "ending in अन" ? Observe, इस्तर्ह्यसुखंभित् ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe इन्तर्धानम्, here ल्युट् is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kâraka"? Observe निर्वहन्म्, अवलेखन्म् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain there original accent,

मन्त्रकिन्व्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्र, किन्त्र, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्तं किन्त्रन्तं व्याख्यानं शयनं आसनं स्थानं इत्येतानि याजकादयः त्रीतशब्दभोगपरमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन्त्र or किन्त्र affixes, and the words व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रीत as well as याजक &c, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kâraka word.

Thus मन्त्र—रथवर्त्मन्, शकटवर्त्मन् ॥ किन्त्र—पाणिनिकृतः, भाषिणिकृतः ॥ व्याख्यान—ऋग्वेदव्याख्यानम्, छन्दोगव्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—राजशयनम्, ब्राह्मणशयनम् ॥ आसन—राजासनम्, ब्राह्मणसनम् ॥ स्थान—गोस्थानम्, अश्वस्थानम् ॥ याजकादि words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as ब्राह्मणयाजकः, क्षत्रिययाजकः, ब्राह्मणपूजकः, क्षत्रियपूजकः ॥ क्रीत—गोक्रीतः, अश्वक्रीतः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 139. and in the case of क्रीत, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्याख्यान &c do not denote here भाव or कर्म, had they done so, rule

VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kāraka, we have प्रकृतिः and प्रहतिः ॥

1 याजक, 2 पूजक, 3 परिचारक, 4 परिषेचक परिवेषक 5 आपक आतक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उस्तादक (उस्तादक) 8 उद्धर्तक, 9 हान्, 10 भर्तु, 11 रथगणक, 12 पत्तिगणक, 13 पोद्, 14 होत्, 15 व्रतक,

सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्याः, पुण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तात्परं पुण्यमित्येतदुत्तरपश्मन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

152. The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अभ्ययने पुण्यम् = अभ्ययनपुण्यम्, वेदपुण्यम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sūtra, and शौण्डेः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Uṇādi affix यन् (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by kṛit-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe वेदेन पुण्यं = वेदपुण्यम् ॥

ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊनार्थ, कलहम्, तृतीयायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊनार्थान्युत्तरपदानि कलहशब्दश्च तृतीयान्तात्पराण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of ऊन, and of कलह, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus माघोर्नैम्, कार्पाषणोर्नैम्, मासविकल्म, कार्पाषणविकल्म, असिकल्मः, वाक्कल्मः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 31. This is an exception to VI. 2. 2 by which the first member being in the third case, would have retained its original accent. Some say that the word अर्थ in the sūtra means the word-form अर्थ, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words ऊन, अर्थ, and कलह get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above;—धान्येनार्थाः = धान्यार्थः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विक्रल.&c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अर्थ ॥ By sūtra II. 1. 31, ऊनार्थ and कलह always take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः, from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, ऊनार्थकलहं would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of तृतीया here is only for the sake of clearness.

मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसंघौ ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिश्रम्, च, अनुपसर्गम्, असंघौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयोति वर्तते । मिश्र इत्येतदुत्तरपश्मनुपसर्गं तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवत्यसंघौ गम्यमाने ॥

154. The word मिश्र has acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any Preposition and does not mean a 'compact or alliance'.

Thus गुडमिश्रोः, तिलमिश्रोः, सर्पिमिश्रोः ॥ Why do we say मिश्र? Observe गुडधाम्नाः ॥ Why do we say 'not having a Preposition'? Observe गुडसंमिश्राः ॥ The employment in this sūtra of the phrase 'anupasargam' implies, that wherever else, the word मिश्र is used, it includes मिश्र with a preposition also. Therefore in II. 1. 31 where the word मिश्र is used, we can form the Instrumental compounds with मिश्र preceded by a preposition also. Why do we say 'not denoting a compact'? Observe ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राज्ञा = ब्राह्मणेः सह संहित ऐकार्थ्यमापन्नः ॥ The word सन्धि here means a contract formed by reciprocal promises, if you do this thing for me, I will do this for you. Others say, it means close proximity, without losing identity, and thus differs from मिश्र in which two things blend together into one. Therefore though the King and the Brāhmaṇa may be in close proximity as regards space, they both retain their several individualities: hence the counter-example ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राज्ञा ॥ While in the examples गुडमिश्राः &c there is no possibility of separating the two.

नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, गुण, प्रतिषेधे, संपादि, अर्ह, हित, अलम्, अर्थाः, तद्धिताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपादि अर्ह हित अलम् इत्येवमर्था ये तद्धितास्तदन्तान्युत्तरपदानि नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्त्तमानास्तदन्त्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

155. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting 'fitted for that' (V. 1. 99), 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63), 'good for that' (V. 1. 5), 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle नञ्, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादि 'suited for that' (V. 1. 99):—अकारणवेष्टकिकं मुख्यम् = न कारण वेष्टकिकं (कर्ण वेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि) ॥ The affix is ष्ट् ॥ अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63):—अष्टौष्टिकः = न ष्ठाष्ट कः (ष्ठमर्हति). The affix is ष्ट् (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19). हित 'good for that' (V. 1. 5):—अवस्तीवः = न वस्ती वः ॥ The affix is छ V. 1. 1. अलमर्थः 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101):—असंतापिकः = न संतापिकः ॥ The affix is ष्ट् (V. 1. 18). Why do we say 'after नञ्'? Observe गर्हभर्यमर्हति = गर्हभर्यधिकः, विगर्हभर्यधिकः, where the negative वि is used and therefore the avyaya वि retains its accent by VI. 2. Why do we say 'negation of that attribute'? Observe गर्हभर्यधिकान्यः = अगर्हभर्यधिकः ॥ The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकारणवेष्टकिकं मुख्यम् =

कर्णवेष्टकाभ्याम् न संपादि सुखम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the sense of sampādi &c'? Observe पाणिनीयमधीयते = पाणिनीयः; न पाणिनीयः = अपाणिनीयः ॥ Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? Observe कन्यां बोधुर्महति = कन्याबोधा, न बोधा = अभवादा ॥ Here वृष् a kṛit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

ययतोश्चातदर्थे ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, यतो, च, अतदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य यत् इत्येतौ यौ तद्धितावतदर्थे वर्तेते तदन्तस्थोत्तरपदस्य नमो गुणप्रतिषेधविषयादन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत् when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नञ् negating the attribute.

Thus पाशानां समूहः = पाश्याः, न पाश्याः = अपाश्याः, So also अतृण्यैः (IV. 2. 49); वृन्तेषु भवं = वृन्त्यम्, न वृन्त्यं = अवृन्त्यम्, अकर्ण्यम् (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadārtha:—not useful for that'. Observe पार्श्वमुदकम् = पाद्यम्, न पाद्यम् = अपाद्यम् (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अदेवम् formed with the kṛit affix यत् ॥ There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise वृन्त्यादव्यन्त = अवृन्त्यम् ॥ The affix य and यत्, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha त् being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as उष &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न वामदेव्यं = अपामदेव्यम् ॥ See IV. 2. 9.

अच्कावशक्तौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, कौ, अ शक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् क इत्येवमन्तमशक्तौ गम्यमानायास्तत्तरपदं नमः परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

157. A word formed with the kṛit affix अच् and क, preceded by the particle नञ्, has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable.'

Thus अपचैः = य पक्तुं न शक्नोति, so also अपज्यैः, अपर्तैः, अपिक्षिर्षैः, अपिलिर्षैः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपचो दीक्षितः, अपचः परिव्राजकः ॥ A दीक्षित and a परिव्राजक do not cook their food, not because they are physically incapable of cooking, but because by the vows of their particular order they are prohibited from cooking.

आक्रोशे च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे च गम्यमानं नम उत्तरमच्छान्तमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

158. A word formed by the kṛit-affixes अच् or क, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपचोऽयं जाल्मः 'this rogue does not cook, though he can do so'. Here avarice is indicated, the fellow wants more pay before he will cook : and not his incapacity. So also अपर्तोऽयं जाल्मः, so also अपिक्षिर्षः, अपिलिर्षः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (अन्तो दात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नमः परस्तत्तरपदं संज्ञायां वर्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by नञ्, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus अवदत्तैः 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' अवत्तदत्तैः, अविष्णुमित्रैः ॥

कृत्योकेष्णुश्चावादीयश्च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, उक, इष्णुच्, चावादीयः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य उक इष्णुच् इत्येवमन्ताच्चावादीयश्च नञ् उत्तरेन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the kṛitya affixes (III. 1. 95), by उक, and इष्णुच्, and the words चारु &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kṛitya:—अकर्त्तव्यम्, अकरणीयम्, उकः—अनागायुकम्, अनपलायुकम् ॥ इष्णुच्—अनलंकारिष्णुः, अनिराकरिष्णुः ॥ The affix इष्णुच् includes खिष्णुच् also: अनाव्यभविष्णुः, असुभगभाविष्णुः ॥ चारु &c:—अचारुः, असाधुः, अयोधिकः, अवदान्यः, अननङ्गमेजयैः (double negation). अनकस्मात् (double negation), The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान स्वरमाण, धीयमाण, रोचमान, क्रीयमाण, and शोभमान preceded by अ (नञ्) when denoting names have acute on the final. अविकारैः, असदृशैः and अविकारसदृशैः (विकार and सदृश taken jointly & separately). अगृहपति, अगृहपतिकः ॥ अराजौ and अनर्हः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नञ्, i. e. udātta on the first.

1 चारु, 2 साधु, 3 यौधाकि (यौधिक) 4 अनङ्गमेजय, 5 वदान्य 6 अकस्मात्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमानस्वरमाणधियमाणक्रोयमाणरोचमानशोभमानाः (क्रियमाण क्रोयमाण) संज्ञायाम्, 8 विकारसदृश व्यस्ते समस्ते (अविकार, असदृश अविकारसदृश), 9 गृहपति, 10 गृहपतिक, 11 राजाहोभ्यन्तसि.

विभाषा तुन्नञ्नीक्षणशुचिषु ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तुन्, अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, शुचिषु, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्नन्त अन्न तीक्ष्ण शुचि इत्येतेषु नञ् उत्तरेषु विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

161. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute :—a word formed with the affix तुन्, and the words अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, and शुचि ॥

Thus तुन्—अकर्त्ता or अकर्त्ता; अन्न &c—अनङ्गम् or अङ्गनङ्गम्, अतीक्ष्णम्, or अतीक्ष्णम्, अशुचिः or अशुचिः ॥ The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable. (VI. 2. 2)

बहुव्रीहाविदमेतत्तद्वचः प्रथमपूरयोः क्रियागणने ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, इदम्, एतत्, तद्वचः, प्रथम, पूरयोः, क्रिया-गणने, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे इदम् एतत् तद्वचोभ्य उत्तरस्य प्रथमशब्दस्य पूरणप्रत्ययान्तस्य च क्रियागणने वर्तमानस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. In a Bahuvrīhi, after the words इदम्, एतद् and तद्, the last syllable of प्रथम and of a proper Ordinal Numeral, has the acute, when the number of times of an action is meant.

Thus इदं प्रथमं गमनं भोजनं वा = स इदमप्रथमैः 'this is the first time of going or eating'. इदं द्वितीयैः, इदं तृतीयैः, एतत्प्रथमैः, एतद्वितीयैः, एतत्तृतीयैः तत्प्रथमैः, तद्वितीयैः तत्तृतीयैः ॥ Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrīhi?' Observe अनेन प्रथमः = इदं प्रथमः ॥ Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say "after idam &c". Observe अन्प्रथमः = अः प्रथम एषाम्, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals'? Observe तानि बहुव्यस्य = तद्वहुः ॥ Why do we say 'in counting an action'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = त इदं प्रथमाः ॥ Here *substances* are counted and not *action*. Why do we say 'in counting'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = इदं प्रथमाः i. e. इदं प्रधानाः ॥ and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost', and is not a numeral. When the कप् affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कप् ॥ As इदं प्रथमकाः ॥ The Bahuvrīhi governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संख्यायाः स्तनः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, स्तनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोऽशक्तो भवति ॥

163. In a Bahuvrīhi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ, त्रिस्तनौ, चतुःस्तनौः ॥ Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe इदं नान्यस्तना ॥ Why do we say 'स्तन'? Observe द्विश्चिः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो विभाषा ऽन्तोऽशक्तो भवति ॥

164. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ or द्विस्तना, चतुःस्तनौ or चैतुःस्तना ॥

संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, मित्र, अजिनयोः (अन्तः-दात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे मित्र अजिन इत्येतयोर्दत्तरपदयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥
षाण्णिकम् ॥ ऋषिप्रतिषेधो मित्रं ॥

165. In a Bahuvrīhi, ending in मित्र and अजिन, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देवमित्रैः, ब्रह्ममित्रैः, वृकजिनैः, कूलाजिनैः कृष्णाजिनैः ॥ Why do we say 'a Name'? Observe मियमित्रैः, महाजिनः ॥

Var. :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मित्र when the name is that of a Rishi. As विश्वामित्रः which is governed by VI. 2. 106 ॥

व्यवायिनो ऽन्तरम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवायिनः, अन्तरम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवायी व्यवधाता । तद्व्ययिनः परमन्तरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ऽन्तोऽशक्तं भवति ॥

166. In a Bahuvrīhi ending in अन्तर, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus कलान्तरम् 'through an intervened cloth or drapery', पदान्तरम्, कम्बलान्तरम् = वस्त्रमन्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c. Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'? Observe आत्मन्तरम् = आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्यायस्य ॥

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखम्, स्वाङ्गम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखमुत्तरपरं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

167. In a Bahuvrīhi the acute is on the final, when the second member is मुख meaning mouth i. e. the actual bodily part of an animal and not used metaphorically.

Thus गोरमुखः, भद्रमुखः ॥ Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'? Observe दीर्घमुखा शाला ॥ Here मुख means "entrance or door". The word स्वाङ्ग means "a non liquid substance actually to be found in living beings &c". as explained in III. 4. 54.

नाव्ययदिक्शब्दगोमहतस्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्यय, दिक्शब्द, गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु, वत्सेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय दिक्शब्द गो महत् स्थूल मुष्टि पृथु वत्स इत्येतेभ्यः परं मुखं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे नान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

168. In a Bahuvrīhi, the acute does not fall on such मुख denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indeclinable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु and वत्स ॥

Thus: अव्ययः—दीर्घमुखः, नीचमुखः ॥ The words उच्चैः and नीचैः are finally acute and retain their accent. दिक्—प्राङ्मुखः, प्रत्यङ्मुखः ॥ The word प्राङ् has acute on the first by VI. 2, 52, and प्रत्यङ् is finally acute by VI. 3. 139. गो &c.—गोमुखः, महोमुखः, स्थूलमुखः, मुष्टिमुखः, पृथुमुखः and वत्समुखः ॥ In these the first members of the Bahuvrīhi preserve their respective accents under Rule VI. 2. 1 and in the case of compounds preceded by गो, मुष्टि and वत्स, the optional rule taught in the next sūtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपमानात्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तादुपमानवाचिनश्च मुखं स्वाङ्गमुत्तरपरदन्यतरस्यां बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

169, In a Bahuvrīhi, the word मुख denoting 'an actual mouth', has optionally the acute on the final, when preceded by a participle in त्, or by that wherewith something is compared.

Thus इक्षालितमुखैः or प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः ॥ When the final is not acute, then Rule VI. 2. 110 applies which makes the first member have acute on the final optionally, and when that also does not apply, then by VI. 2. 1. the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of the gati (VI. 2. 49). Thus there are three forms. So also with a word denoting comparison:—सिंहमुखैः or सिंहमुखः, व्याघ्रमुखैः or व्याघ्रमुखः ॥

जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो अनाच्छादनात् को ऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥
जातिकाल, सुखादिभ्यः, अनाच्छादनात्, कः, अकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिन आच्छादनवर्जितात् कालवाचिनः सुखादिभ्यश्च परं क्त्वा कृतमितप्रतिपन्नान्वर्जयित्वा बहुव्रीहौ समासेनोदात्तं भवति ॥

170. After a word denoting a species (with the exception of a word for 'garment or covering'), and after a time-denoting word as well as after सुख &c. the Participle in क्त has acute on the final, in a Bahuvrīhi, but not so when the participles are कृत, मित and प्रतिपन्न ॥

Thus सारङ्गजर्धः, पलाण्डुभक्षितैः, सुरपीतैः ॥ कालः—मासजातैः, संवत्सरजातैः, ब्राह्मजातैः, ज्येष्ठजातैः ॥ सुख &c.—सुखजातैः दुःखजातैः, वृषजातैः ॥ Why do we say "after a Species, a time or सुख &c. word"? Observe पुत्रजातः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word Putra. Why do we say 'when not meaning a garment'? Observe वैद्यच्छत्रः, वैसनच्छत्रः from the root वस् with the affixes छत्र् and ल्युट् respectively. Why do we say "when not कृत &c."? Observe कुण्डकृतः, कुण्डामितः कुण्डमातपन्नः; कुण्ड is first acute by Phit II. 3 being neuter. These three participles do not stand first in a compound (contrary to II. 2. 36), as this sūtra implies. In the counter-examples, above given, the first members retain their original accent (VI. 2. 1). The words सुख &c are given under III. 1. 18.

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 वृष (वृष तोत्र) 4 कुच्छ, 5 अन्न, 6 भास्त्र*, 7 अलीक 8 प्रतीप, 9 करण, 10 कृपण, 11 सांढ. 12 गहन.

वा जाते ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जाते, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातशब्दउत्तरपदे वा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः ॥

171. After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuvrīhi, the word जात has optionally acute on the final.

Thus वृन्तजातैः or वृन्तजातः, स्तनजातैः or स्तनजातः, मासजातैः or मासजातः, संवत्सरजातैः or संवत्सरजातः, सुखजातैः or सुखजातः, दुःखजातैः or दुःखजातः &c. The words वृन्त and स्तन are first-acute by Phit II. 6; मास is first-acute by Phit II. 15, संवत्सर is finally-acute by Phit I. 7. बहुविधवत्सरति शतृप्यान्ताश्च "words ending in बहुविध, वत्स, ति, शत् and थ are finally acute", as बहुविधैः, संवत्सरैः, सप्ततिः, विंशत्, सूर्यश्च ॥ The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

नञ्सुभ्याम् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, सुभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां परसुत्तरपरं बहुव्रीहौ समासिन्तोषात् भवति ॥

172. A Bahuvrīhi formed by the Negative particle नञ् or by सु has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अयवो देवाः, अत्रीहिः, अमाषः, सुवर्षः, सुत्रीहिः, सुभाषः ॥ The acute here rests on the last syllable of the completed compound ; so that the rule applies to the compounds which have fully developed themselves by taking the samāsānta affixes. Thus अनुचः (formed by the samāsānta affix अ V. 4 74). Though the word समास and उत्तरपर are both present here by context, yet the operation is performed on samāsa. This is to be inferred, because of the next sūtra. For had the present sūtra meant that the final of the second member (उत्तरपर) preceded by नञ् and सु gets the acute, then there would have been no necessity of the next sūtra, for the present would have covered the case of सुकुमारीक &c because कप् is not a part of the *second term* (uttarapada) कुमारी but of the *compound* (Samasa) सुकुमारी; and therefore, if we translated the present sūtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on ई in सुकुमारीकः even by this sūtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samāsānta words अनुचः and बहुचः ॥ There is necessity of the next sūtra, because a samāsa includes not only the simple samāsa, but one ending with a samāsānta affix. Therefore, had not the next sūtra been made, the accent would have fallen on क and not on ई, for the affix कप् is considered part of the samasa and not of the uttarapada समासान्तः समासस्यैवायम् उत्तरपरस्य ॥

कपि पूर्वम् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, पूर्वम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां कपि परतः पूर्वमन्तोषात् भवति ॥

173. A Bahuvrīhi formed by नञ् or सु and ending in the affix कप्, (V. 4. 153) has acute on the syllable preceding the affix.

By the last sūtra the accent would have fallen on कप्, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अनुकुमारीकोदेवाः, अवृषलीकः, अब्रह्मबन्धूकः, सुकुमारीकः, सुवृषलीकः, सुब्रह्मबन्धूकः ॥

ह्रस्वान्ते इत्यात्पूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वान्ते, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, (उदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो ऽन्तो यस्य तद्विरे ह्रस्वान्तसुत्तरपरं समासो वा, तत्रान्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति कपि परतो नञ्सुभ्यां परं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrīhi preceded by नञ् and सु to which कप् is added.

Thus अयवकोदेवाः, अत्रीहिकः, अमाषिकः, सुवर्षिकः, सुत्रीहिकः, सुभाषिकः ॥ The repetition of पूर्व in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present from the last,

shows, that in the last aphorism, the syllable preceding कप् takes the acute, while here the syllable preceding the short-vowel-ending final syllable has the acute and not the syllable preceding कप् ॥ This is possible with a word which is, at least, of two syllables (not counting, of course, सु and क or कप्). Therefore, in अर्तकः and सुर्तकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कप् by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyât-purvam.

बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदार्थबहुल्ये यो बहुशब्दो वर्तते तस्मान्नञइव स्वरो भवति । नञ्मुभ्यामित्युक्तम् । बहोरपि ज्ञेया भवति ॥

175. A Bahuvrīhi with बहु, has the same accent as नञ्, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrīhi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrīhi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2. 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multiety of the objects denoted by the second member. Thus बहुयवै रेशः, बहुव्रीहैः, बहु-तिरैः the same as VI. 2. 172. बहुयवकः, बहुव्रीहिकः, बहुमौषकः by VI. 2. 174. बहुजैः, बहुमैः, बहुमित्रैः, बहुवृत्तैः by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohtlingk.

Why do we say 'uttara-pada-bhumni—when multicity of the objects denoted by the second member is meant'? Observe बहुषु मनोऽस्य = बहुमना अयम् (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणादयो ऽवयवाः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गुणादयः, अवयवाः (अन्तोदात्ताः) वृत्तिः ॥ गुणादयो ऽवयववाचिनोबहोरुन्ने बहुव्रीहौ नान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

176. In a Bahuvrīhi, after बहु, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुगुणाः रज्जुः, बहुक्षरं पदम्, बहुच्छन्मोमानम्, बहुध्यायः (VI. 2. I). गुणादि is an Akrtigaṇa. Why do we say "when it denotes an avayava or ingredient"? As बहुगुणोद्भाषणः = अध्ययनश्रुतसंश्रारादयोऽवगुणाः ॥

1 गुण, 2 अक्षर, 3 अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 छन्दोमान. आकृतिगण.

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपश्यु ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, स्वाङ्गम्, ध्रुवम्, अपश्यु, (अन्तोदात्ताम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवं पश्युर्वाजितमन्तोदात्तं भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

177. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of पश्यु, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrīhi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रपूर्वः, प्रोद्वैः, प्रल्लाटैः; सततं यस्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स प्रपृष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe दर्शनीयल्लाटः ॥ Why do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रशाखो वृक्षः ॥ Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe उद्धाहुः क्रोशति ॥ Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not *always*, so the state of उद्धाहु is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of पशु? Observe ईत्पशुः, विपशुः (VI. 2. 1).

वनं समासे ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, समासे, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासमात्रे वनामत्येतदुत्तरपदशुपसर्गात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

178. After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवणं बटव्यम्, निर्धने प्रणिधीयते, the न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 5. The word 'samāsa' is used in the sūtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrihi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तदशब्दोत्तरं वनमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

179. After अन्तर् the acute falls on the final of वन ॥

Thus अन्तर्वंशो वेशः ॥ This sūtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तश्च ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तदशब्दोत्तरपदशुपसर्गादन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

180. The word अन्तर् has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रान्तैः, पर्यन्तैः ॥ This is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रादि compound.

न निविभ्याम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, नि, विभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरोन्तदशब्दो नान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

181. The word antar has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and वि ॥

Thus न्यन्तः, यन्तः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel इ, then the subsequent grave is changed to svarita by VIII. 2. 4.

परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम् ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, अभितः-भावि, मण्डलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेरुत्तरमभितोभाविवचनं मण्डलं चान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

182. After परि, a word, which expresses something, which has both this side and that side, as well as the word मण्डल, has acute on the final.

Thus परिकुलम्, परितोरम्, परिमण्डलम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrihi or प्रादि compound or an Avyayibhāva. If it is an Avyayibhāva, then rule VI. 2, 33 is superseded,

and the first member does not retain its original accent. अभितः = उभयतः 'on both sides, अभितोभावाऽस्यास्ति = अभितोभावेन 'that which has both sides: namely those things which have naturally two sides such as 'banks', 'shores' &c.

प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रात्, अस्वाङ्गम्, संज्ञायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादुत्तरपदमस्वाङ्गवाचि संज्ञायां विषये ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

183. After प्र, a word, which does not denote a part of body, has acute on the final, when the compound is a name.

Thus प्रकोष्ठम्, प्रगृह्यम्, प्रहारम् ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting a body part'? Observe प्रहस्तम्, प्रपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe प्रपीठम् ॥

निरुदकादीनि च ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरुदकादीनि, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरुदकादीनि च शब्दरूपाण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

184. The words निरुदक &c, have acute on the final.

Thus निरुदकम्, निरुपम्, निरुपलम् &c.

1 निरुदक, 2 निरुपल निरुप 3 निर्मक्षिक, 4 निर्मक्षक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्पेय, 8 दुस्तरीय, 9 निस्तरीय, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 निपञ्चिन, 12 उश्चिन, 13 उपाञ्चिन, 14 परेष्टपादकेयकपर्षा आकृतिगण.

These may be considered either as प्राप्ति समास or Bahuvrihi. If they be considered as avyayi bhāva compounds then they are end acute already by VI. 1. 223. The word निष्कालकः = निष्कालन्तः कालकात्, is a Prādi-samāsa with the word काल ending in the affix कन् ॥ The word दुस्तरीयः is thus formed: to the root दृ is added the affix ई and we have तरी (Uṇ III. 158) तरीम् पाति = तरीयः; कृत्स्नित तरीयः = दुस्तरीयः ॥ The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix कप् to the Bahuvrihi निस्तरी ॥ The words हस्त, पाद, कक्ष and कर्ष have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तः, परिपादः, परिकक्षः, and परिकर्षः ॥

अभेर्मुखम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, मुखम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभेरुत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

185. The word मुख has acute on the final when preceded by अभि ॥

As, अभिमुखम् ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi or a प्राप्ति samāsa. If it is an Avyayi-bhāva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुख would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present sūtra makes the additional declaration that मुख is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvrihi, when it does not denote an indispensable part of body, or a part of body even, as was the case in VI. 2. 177. Thus अभिमुखं शाला ॥

अपाञ्च ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपाञ्चोत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

186. The word **मुख** has acute on the final, after the preposition **अप्** ॥

Thus **अपमुखम्**, **अपमुखः** ॥ The compound is in one case Avyayibhāva also, when rule VI. 2. 33 will be superseded. The separation of this from the last sūtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvritti of **अप** only goes.

स्फिगपूतवीणाओध्वकुक्षिसीरनाम नाम च १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जः, उध्वम् कुक्षि, सीर नाम, नाम, च,

**वृत्तिः ॥ स्फिग पूत वीणा अञ्जस् अध्वम् कुक्षि इत्येतान्युत्तरशानि सीरनामानि नामशब्दभाषादुत्तराण्यन्तो-
शात्तानि भवन्ति ।**

187. The words **स्फिग**, **पूत**, **वीणा**, **अञ्जस्**, **अध्वम्**, **कुक्षि**, **नामन्** and a word denoting 'a plough', have acute on the final when preceded by **अप** ॥

Thus **अपस्फिगम्**, **अपपूतम्**, **अपवीणम्**, **अपाञ्जः**, **अपाध्वम्** (This ordains acute on the final where the compound apādhwa does not take the samāsanta affix **अच्** by V. 4. 85, when it takes that affix, the acute will also fall on the final because **अच्** is a चित् affix.) This further shows that the samāsanta affixes are not compulsory. (**अनित्यश्च समासान्तः**), **अपकुक्षिः**, **अपसीरः**, **अपहलः**, **अपलाङ्गलम्**, **अपनामम्** ॥ These are **प्रादि** compounds or Bahuvrīhi or Avyayibhavas. Some of these viz. **स्फिग**, **पूत** and **कुक्षिः** will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a Bahuvrīhi. Here the compound must not be a Bahuvrīhi, nor should these words denote parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

अधेरुपरिस्थम् ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, उपरिस्थम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधेरुत्तरमुपरिस्थवाचि अन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

188. After **अधि**, that word, which denotes that thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus **अधिदन्तः** = **दन्तस्योपरि योऽन्योदन्तो जायते** 'a tooth that grows over another tooth'. **अधिकर्णः**, **अधिकेक्षः** ॥ These are **प्रादि** samāsa or an appositional compound in which the second member has been dropped. Why do we say when meaning 'standing upon'? Observe **अधिकर्णम्** Here the acute is on **क**, the krit-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनोः, अप्रधान, कनीयसी, (अन्तोदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरमप्रधानवाचि कनीयशान्तोदात्तं भवति ।

189. After **अनु**, a word which is not the Principal, as well as **कनीयस्** has acute on the final.

The word **अप्रधान** means a word which stands in a dependant relation in a compound. Thus **अनुगता ज्येष्ठम्** = **अनुज्येष्ठः**, **अनुमध्यम्** ॥ These are **प्रादि** samāsa

in which the first member is the principal or Pradhāna. अनुगतः कनीयम् = अनुक-
भीयौद्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कनीयस् is taken as
प्रधान ॥ Had it been non-pradhāna, it would be covered by the first portion of the
sūtra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration.
Why do we say “अप्रधान” ? Observe अनुगतो ज्येष्ठः = अनुज्येष्ठः, where ज्येष्ठ is
the Principal.

पुरुषश्चांवादिष्टः ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषः, च, अंवादिष्टः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दो ऽन्वादिष्टवाची चानोरुत्तरोन्ताशक्तौ भवति ।

190. After अनु, the acute falls on the final of पुरुष,
when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अंवादिष्ट means ‘of a secondary importance, inferior’, or
‘mentioned again after having already been mentioned’. Thus अंवादिष्टः
पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ; but अनुगतः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ॥

अतेरकृतपदे ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतेः, अकृतपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतेः परमकृतं पदशब्दश्चांन्तोशक्तौ भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अतेर्जातुलोपशति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. After अति, a word not formed by a kṛit-affix,
and the word पद, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अस्यङ्कुशो नागः, अतिकुशोऽश्वः, अतिपर्शो शकृरी ॥ Why do we say ‘non-
kṛit-word and पद’ ? Observe अतिकारकः ॥

Virt. :—The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root
has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound a verb like कम् is
to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore it does not apply to शोभनी
गार्ग्यः = अतिगार्ग्यः ॥ But it would apply to अतिकारकः, which when analysed be-
comes equal to अतिक्रान्तः कारकम् ॥

नेरनिधाने ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, अनिधाने, (अन्तोदात्ताम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परमुत्तरपदमन्तोशक्तं भवति ।

192. After नि, the second member has the acute
on the last syllable, when the sense is of ‘not laying down’.

The word निधानं = अप्रकाशता ‘not making manifest’. Thus निमूलम्, न्य-
क्षम्, नितर्जम् ॥ These are either Bahuvrīhi or prādisamāsa. In the case of
their being Avyayībhāva, they would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.
Why do we say when meaning ‘not laying down’ ? Observe निशक् = निहितवाक्
as निवाग्बृषलः ; निशङ्कः = निहितशङ्कः ॥ The force of नि is that of निधान here.

प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, अंश्वादयः, तत्पुरुषे, (अन्तोदात्ताः)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोशक्ता भवन्ति ।

193. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, the words अंशु
&c have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति ॥

Thus प्रत्यङ्ङः, प्रतिजनैः, प्रतिरात्रौ ॥ In the case of राजन् this rule applies when the Samāsānta affix दच् is not added, when that affix is added, the acute will also be on the final by virtue of दच् which is a चिन् affix.

1 अंशु, 2 जन, 3 राजन्, 4 उष्ट्र, 5 खेटक (रोटक), 6 अजिर, 7 भार्गो, 8 भवण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 अर्ध, 11 पुर (आर्धपुर आर्धपुरः) ॥

The word अंशु is formed by the affix कु under the general class मृगवुः (Un I. 37), राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Un I. 156), उष्ट्र by adding ष्ट्रन् to उष् 'to burn'. (Un IV. 162), खिद् + ण्वल् = खेटक; अजिर is formed by किरच् (Un I. 53) आ + ज्रा + अङ् (III. 3. 106), with the augment रक् added to आ = भार्गो ॥ भृ + ल्युट् = भवण, कृत + तिकन् = कृत्तिका (Un III. 147) ऋध् + अच् (III. 1. 134) = अर्ध; पुर + क = पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpuruṣa'? Observe प्रतिगता अंशवोऽस्य = प्रत्यङ्ङुरयवुष्ट्रः ॥

उपाद् द्वयजजिनमगौरादयः ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाद्, द्वयच् अजिनम्, अ-गौरादयः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरं द्वयजिनं चान्तोदात्तं भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे गौरादीन्वञ्जित्वा ॥

194. In a Tatpuruṣa, the words of two syllables and अजिन have acute on the final when preceded by उप, but not when they are गौर and the rest.

Thus उपगतो देवः = उपदेवैः, उपेन्द्रैः, उपसोमैः, उपहोत्रैः, उपाजिनैश्च ॥ But not so in उपगौरः, उपनैषः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नैष (नैष) 3 तैल, 4 लेट, 5 लोट, 6 जिह्वा, 7 कृष्ण (कृष्णा) 8 कन्या, 9 युध (युध) 10 कल्प, 11 पाठ

Why "in a Tatpuruṣa"? Observe उपगतः सोमोऽस्य = उपसोमः ॥

सोरवक्षेपणे ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, अवक्षेपणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुशब्दात्परपुनरपहं तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोदात्तं भवाते अवक्षेपणे गम्यमाने ॥

195. After सु, the second member has acute on the final in a Tatpuruṣa compound, when reproach is meant, in spite of the addition of सु which denotes praise.

Thus इह खल्विदानीं, सुस्यण्डिले सुस्फिताभ्यां सुप्रत्यवसितैः ॥ The word सु here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say "after सु"? Observe कुब्राह्मणः ॥ Why 'when reproach is meant'? Observe शोभनेषु तृणेषु = सुतृणेषु ॥

विभाषेत्युच्छे ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उत्पुच्छे, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पुच्छश्च तत्पुरुषे विभाषा अन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

196. In a Tatpuruṣa, the word उत्पुच्छ may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उरक्रान्तः पुच्छान् = उरुच्छः or ईरुच्छः (VI. 2. 2) ॥ When this word is derived by the affix अच् from पुच्छयुजस्यति = उरुच्छयति, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sūtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpuruṣa : as, उरुस्त्वं पुच्छमस्य = उरुपुच्छः ॥

द्वित्रिभ्यां पादन्मूर्धं सु बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, त्रिभ्याम्, पाद्, दत्, मूर्धं सु, बहुव्रीहौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि त्रि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरेषु पाद् इत् मूर्धन् इत्येतेषु भरपदेषु ओ बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञ विभाषा ज्ञात उरात्तो भवति ॥

197. In a Bahuvrīhi, the words पाद्, दत् and मूर्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus द्वौ पादावस्य = द्विपात् or द्विपात्, त्रिपाद् or त्रिपाद्, द्विर्दन् or द्विर्दन्, त्रिर्दन् or त्रिर्दन्, द्विर्दन् or द्विर्दन् ॥ The word पाद् is पाद् with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) इत् is the substitute of इन्त (V. 4. 141) and मूर्धन् retains its न् not allowing samāsanta affix. This also indicates that the samāsanta rule is not universal. When the samāsanta affix is added, then also the acute is on the final, for the क्त्वी is here the Bahuvrīhi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus द्विमूर्धः, त्रिमूर्धः ॥ Why after द्वि and त्रि? Observe कर्त्तव्यमूर्धा here the first member is middle acute by Phiṭ II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why 'पाद् &c'? Observe द्विहस्तम्, त्रिहस्तम् ॥ Why 'Bahuvrīhi'? Observe इयोरमूर्धा = द्विमूर्धा ॥

सक्थं चाक्रान्तात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सक्थम्, च, अ क्रान्तात्, (अन्तोदात्तः) (विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सक्थमिति कृतसमासान्तः सक्थिषाब्देन गृह्यते सोक्रान्तात्सरो विभाषान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

198. The word सक्थ has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in क् ॥

The word सक्थ is the samāsanta form of सक्थि (V. 4. 113,). Thus गौरसक्थ्यैः or गौरैःसक्थः, श्लक्ष्णसक्थ्यैः or श्लक्ष्णैःसक्थः The word गौर being formed by प्रज्ञादि अण् and श्लक्ष्ण by क्लृप् (Uṇ III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in क्'? Observe चक्रसक्थ्यैः which is *always* oxytone as it is formed by षच् (V. 4. 113) a चित् affix.

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परादिः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये परादिस्वात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

Karika—परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।

पूर्वादिष्व दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिचक्रादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्बृहदादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदाद्युदात्तप्रकरणे विवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

199. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word पर "the second member" refers to सक्य, as well as to any other word in general. Thus अङ्घ्रिसक्यमालभेत, but लोमससक्यः so also अङ्घ्रिबाहुः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः ॥ In the non-Vedic literature these last two compounds will be final acute by VI. 1. 223, rule VI. 2. 18 not applying because of the prohibition contained in VI. 2. 19.

The rule is rather too restricted. It ought to be : "In the Veda, the *first* syllable and the *final* syllable of the *second* member, as well as the *final* syllable and the *first* syllable of the *preceding* member are seen to have the acute accent, in supersession of all the foregoing rules".

As to where the final of the second terms takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika*—In the Veda, विश्वक्र &c have acute on the final of the second term. As विश्वक्रेण, विश्वधुरेण, विश्वतारयेन, ॥ नियेन मुष्टिहृत्यया ॥

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika* :—The words मरुद्वृद्ध &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As मरुद्वृद्धः and विश्वौयुः ॥

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vārtika* :—In the Veda, the words दिवोदास &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As दिवोदासाय सामगाय ते ॥

आम् ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

अलुगुत्तरपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलुक्, उत्तरपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलुगिति च उत्तरपदे इति च एतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । अस्ति ईर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽलुगुत्तरपद-
स्यैवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase “the elision does not take place before the second member of the compound”.

The words अलुक् ‘there is no elision’, and उत्तरपदे “before the second member” are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, jointly; while उत्तरपदे extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI.4. 1). Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 says “the affixes of the Ablative after ‘stoka’ &c”. The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. “the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c are not elided before the second member of the compound”. Thus स्तोकात् मुक्तः = स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥ Why do we say “before the second member”? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, स्तोकादिभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि स्तोकादीनि तेभ्यः परस्याः पञ्चम्या उत्तरपदेऽलुगुभवति ॥

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः, अन्तिकाशगतः, अभ्याशाशगतः, दूराशगतः, विप्रकृष्टा-
शगतः, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः ॥ By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called prātipadika, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Prātipadika are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक &c in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः मुक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not

one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39.

Vart:—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणाशशय शंसति = ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् “a kind of Ritvik priest”.

ओजः सहोऽम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् तमसः, तृतीयायाः (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् तमस् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति उत्तरपरे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अञ्जस उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पुंसानुजो अनुषान्ध इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् ॥

Vart—अञ्जस् also should be enumerated. Thus अञ्जसाकृतम् ॥

Vart:—The compounds पुंसानुजः and अनुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनानुजः = पुंसानुजः ॥ अनुषा हेतुनाऽन्धः = अनुषान्धः ॥ The word अनु is another name of जन्मन् ‘birth’.

मनसः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनसः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

4. After मनस when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसादत्ता, मनसायुक्ता, मनसासंगता ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe मनोदत्ता, मनोयुक्ता ॥

आज्ञायिनि च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आज्ञायिनि, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आज्ञायिन्नुत्तरपरे मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति ॥

5. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽज्ञातुं शीलमस्य ॥

आत्मनश्च पूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनः, च, पूरणे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः पूरणप्रत्ययान्तोत्तरपरे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

6. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided when an Ordinal Numeral follows.

Thus आत्मनापंचमः, आत्मनाषष्ठः ॥ The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vārtika तृतीयादिधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसख्यानं (II. 3. 18 Vārt). And compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पंचमः = आत्मनापंचमः ॥ How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ्य in जनार्दनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ्य एव? It is a Bahuvrīhi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥ The word पूरणे is a later addition of the Vārtikakāra.

वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वैयाकरणाख्यायाम्, चतुर्थ्याः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैयाकरणस्याख्या वैयाकरणाख्या । आख्या संज्ञा । यया संज्ञया वैयाकरणा एव व्यवहरन्ति तस्या-मात्मन उत्तरस्याचतुर्थ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

7. The Dative case ending is not elided after आत्मन् when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 36, and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha.

परस्य च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्य, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य च या चतुर्थी तस्या वैयाकरणाख्यायामलुग्भवति ॥

8. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदम्, परस्मभाषा ॥

हलदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् अदन्तात्, सप्तम्याः, संज्ञा-याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तादन्ताच्चोत्तरस्याः सप्तम्याः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ह्रस्वम्यां ङे ॥

9. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus युधिष्ठिरः, स्वचिसारः, गविष्ठिरः ॥ Though गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (गविशुभिर्न्या स्थिरः) which shows by implication that गवि is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अरण्यतिलकाः, अरण्यभाषकाः, वनेर्किशुकाः, वनेर्हृदिद्रकाः, वनेर्बल्बजकाः, पूर्वाङ्ग-स्फोटकाः, रूपेपिशाचकाः ॥ Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or अ"? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशाः = भूमिपाशाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe अक्षशोण्डः ॥

Vārt.—The Locative ending is not elided after ह्रस्व and दिङ्; as : ह्रस्वस्य, दिङ्स्यस्य ॥

कारनास्त्रि च प्राचां हलादौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारनास्त्रि, च, प्राचाम्, हलादौ, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे अकारनाम तत्र हलादावुत्तरपदे हलन्तादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या अलुगभवति ॥

10. The Locative-case affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सूषमाणः, हषदिमाषकः, हलेदिपदिका, हलेन्निपदिका ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a *niyama* or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we say when it is the name of a tax? Observe अभ्यर्हितपशुः = अभ्यर्हितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues', but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe शूयपशुः = शूयपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अविकटे वरणः = अविकटवरणः ॥ So also नद्यां रोहनी = नदीरोहनी ॥ For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

मध्यादगुरौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्, गुरौ, अलुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या गुरावुत्तरपदे ऽलुगभवति ॥

षान्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताच्चति वक्तव्यम् ॥

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As, मध्यगुरुः ॥

Vārt. :—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तगुरुः ॥

अमूर्ध्वमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ मूर्ध्व, मस्तकात्, स्वाङ्गात्, अकामे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्ध्वमस्तकवर्जितात्स्वाङ्गादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या अकामउत्तरपदे ऽलुगभवति ॥

12. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्ध्व and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उरसिलोमा, उदरेमणिः ॥ But मूर्ध्वशिखः, मस्तकशिखः, मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥ When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply : as अस्रौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंगुलिनाणः, अङ्घ्राबलिः ॥

बन्धे च विभाषा ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धे, च, विभाषा, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बन्ध इति षन्नतो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे हलन्तादुत्तरस्थाः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुगभवति ॥

13. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः, चक्रेबन्धः or चक्रबन्धः ॥ This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrihi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19, when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वाङ्ग or not. The word बन्धः is घञ् formed word. When the first member ends in a vowel (other than अ), the rule does not apply. As युतिबन्धः ॥

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत् पुरुषे, कृति, बहुलम्, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे कृत्तन्तत्तरपरे सप्तम्या बहुलमलुग्भवति ॥

14. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a kṛit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्तम्भेरम्, कर्णेजपः, but also कुरुचरः, मग्नचरः ॥

प्रावृद्दशरत्कालदिवां जे ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृद्, शरत्, काल, दिवां, जे, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृद् शरत् काल दिव् इत्येतेषां अ उत्तरपरे सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

15. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृद्, शरत्, काल and दिव् when ज follows.

Thus प्रावृदिजः, शरदिजः, कालेजः, दिविजः ॥ This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वर्ष, क्षर, शर, वरात्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ष क्षर शर वर इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या अ उत्तरपरे विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः, शरेजः or शरजः, वरेजः or वरजः ॥

घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, काल, तनेषु, काल नाम्नः, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घसंज्ञके प्रत्यये कालघञे तनप्रत्यये च परतः कालनाम्न उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

17. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time ending in a consonant or अ when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन follows.

The affixes तर and तम are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घः—पूर्वाह्ण, तरे or पूर्वाह्णे, तरे, पूर्वाह्णे, तमे or पूर्वाह्णे, तमे ॥ कालः—पूर्वाह्णे, काले or पूर्वाह्णे, काले ॥ तनः—पूर्वाह्णे, तने or पूर्वाह्णे, तने ॥ Why do we say 'after a time—name'? Observe शुक्लतरे, शुक्लतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in राक्षितरायाम् ॥

As a general maxim, an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययमहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तद्वि स्तदन्तस्य महणम्) ॥ Thus the word थ, अथ &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in थ affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपद goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim: उत्तरपदधिकारे प्रत्ययमहणे न तदन्त महणम्; on the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तद्, तम and तन here do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares "हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख, and the affixes बन्, अण्, and लास follow". Had the affix अण् here meant the word-form ending in अण्, then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. The word काल in the aphorism means the word-form काल ॥ See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 for the affix तन ॥

शयवासवासिष्वकालात् ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ शय, वास, वासिषु, अकालात्, (अलुक्) वृत्तिः ॥ शय वास वासिन् इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेष्वकालवाचिन उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुम्भवति ॥

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन् when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus लेशयः, or स्वशयः, ग्रामेवासः or ग्रामवासः, ग्रामेवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पूर्वाह्णशयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशयः ॥

Vart:—The Locative case-affix is retained after अण् when योनि, or the affix यत् or मतुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सव्यः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अण् as belonging to the दिगारि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54).

नेन्सिद्धबधातिषु च ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्, सिद्ध, वधातिषु, च, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नने सिद्धशब्दं बध्नाती च परतः सप्तम्या अलुम्भन भवति ॥

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन्, सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिन्यसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः, चक्रबन्धकः ॥ The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 40. Some use the word चक्रबन्धः as an illustration under this rule: बन्ध then is derived by अण् of III. 1. 134. The बन्ध ending in ण् is governed by VI. 3. 13. This sūtra is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

स्थे च भाषायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थे, च, भाषायाम्, (न) (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थे चोत्तरपदे भाषायां सप्तम्या अलुम्भन भवति ॥

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before स्थ in the spoken language.

Thus विषमस्यः, कूटस्यः, पर्वतस्यः ॥ But आखरोष्ठः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोस्या-
खरोष्ठः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106.

षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः, आक्रोशे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने उत्तरपदे षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठीप्रकरणे वाग् विष्पद्यङ्गो युक्तिरुण्डहरेषु यथासंख्यमलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ आहुष्यायणामुष्यपुत्रिकामुष्यकुलिकेति आलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ देवानां प्रिय इत्यत्र च षष्ठ्या अलुग् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ शेषपुच्छलाङ्गूलेषु शुनः भसंज्ञायां षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ शिवश्च शप्ते षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult'.

Thus चौरस्यकुलम्, वृषलस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say when insult is meant? Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vart :—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after विश् before रुण्ड, and after पश्यन् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, विशोरुण्डः, पश्यतोहरः ॥

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आहुष्यायणः, आहुष्यपुत्रिका and आहुष्यकुलिका ॥ अहुष्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun अहस्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes क् in forming the Patronymic, अहुष्यापत्यम् = आहुष्यायणः, अहुष्यपुत्रस्य भावः = आहुष्यपुत्रिका formed by वुष् (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also आहुष्यकुलिका ॥

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रियः ॥ The author of Siddhānta Kaumudī says "when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devānām-priya" There is no authority for this, either in the Mahābhāṣya or the Kāśikā. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant 'a fool'. The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshīt through Brahmanical spite.

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided after भन् when शेष, पुच्छ and लांगुल follow it :—शुनः शेषः, शुनः पुच्छः, शुनोर्लांगुलः ॥

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided after विश् when शप् follows : as विश्वोशप्ते ॥

पुत्रे अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दोत्तरपदे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने अन्यतरस्यां षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ।

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुत्र follows.

Thus शप्त्याः पुत्रः or शप्तिपुत्रः, वृषत्याः पुत्रः, or वृषलीपुत्रः ॥ But when insult is not meant we have ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः ॥

ऋतो विद्यायोनिस्सम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, विद्या, योनि, सम्बन्धेभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यासम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो योनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्योत्तरस्थाः वक्ष्या मलुम्भवति ॥

23. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुरन्तेवासिन्, होतुः पुत्रः, पितुरन्तेवासिन् or पित्रः पुत्रः ॥ Why do we say "a word ending in ऋ"? Observe आचार्यपुत्रः, मातुलपुत्रः ॥ The relationship through 'study' or 'blood' should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore, the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम्, होतृगृहम्, पितृगृहम् ॥

विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, स्वसृ, पत्योः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृ पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो विभाषा ऽलुम्भवति ॥

24. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in ऋ when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःष्वसा or मातृष्वसा, पितुःस्वसा or पितुःष्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII. 3. 85; and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85). So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहितृपतिः, ननान्दुः पतिः or ननान्दपतिः ॥

आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनङ्, ऋतः, द्वन्द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानां विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धवाचिनां यो इन्द्रस्तत्रोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्थानङ्कारेणो भवति ॥

25. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेटोद्गातारौ, प्रशास्तापतिहर्तारौ, मातापितरौ, दातानानाम्बरौ ॥ The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a र comes after every *simple vowel* substitute of ऋ ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in ऋ'? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥ The anuvritti of पुत्र is understood here, so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though it does not end in ऋ. As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता द्वन्द्वे, च, (आनङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो इन्द्रस्तत्रोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्थानङ्कारेणो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इभयञ् वायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devtās.

Thus इन्द्रावरुणौ, इन्द्रासीनौ, इन्द्रावृहस्पती, मित्रावरुणौ ॥ The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvritti from the last, shows that

the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like **ब्रह्मप्रजापति**, **शिखरेश्वर** ॥ In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as **अग्निवायु** or **वाय्वग्नी** ॥

ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, अग्नेः, सोम, वरुणयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोम वरुण इत्येतयोर्देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्नेरिकाणदेशो भवति ॥

27. For the final of **अग्नि**, is substituted the long **ई**, when **सोम** or **वरुण** follow in a Dvandva.

Thus **अग्नीषोमी**, **अग्नीवरुणौ** ॥ The स is changed to व by VIII. 3. 82.

इदृक्षौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, वृक्षौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतवृक्षावुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्नेरिकाणदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इदृक्षौ विष्णोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

28. The short **इ** is the substitute of the final of **अग्नि** in such a Dvandva in which both members take the Vṛiddhi.

Thus **आग्निवारुणी**, which would have required long **ई** by the last rule: **आग्निमारुतम्**, which would have required **आनङ्** by VI. 3. 26. Thus **आग्निवारुणी-मनङ्गाहीनालभेत**, **आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रियेत** ॥ **आग्नीमरुतौ देवताद्वन्द्वे** (IV. 2. 24), takes the Tad-dhita affix, and by VII. 3. 21, both members of the compound take Vṛiddhi. When both members do not take Vṛiddhi, the rule does not apply: as **आग्नेन्द्रः** (**आग्न इन्द्र**), because **इन्द्र** does not take Vṛiddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the word **विष्णु** follows: as **आग्न्यावेष्णवं चरं निर्वपेत्** ॥

दिवो द्यावा ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, द्यावा, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवित्येतस्य द्यावा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

29. For **दिव्** is substituted **द्यावा** in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devatās.

Thus **द्यावाक्षामा**, **द्यावाभूमी** ॥

दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवसः, च, पृथिव्याम्, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथिव्यावुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे दिवो दिवसित्ययमादेशो भवति चकाराद् द्यावा च ॥

30. For **दिव्** is also substituted **दिवस्** (as well as **द्यावा**) when **पृथिवी** follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatas.

Thus **दिवस्पृथिव्यौ**, **द्यावापृथिव्यौ** ॥ The word **दिवस्** is exhibited in the aphorism as **दिवस** ending in स, in order to indicate that the स of **दिवस्** is not changed to इ or a visarga or upadhmaniya when followed by **पृथिवी** ॥ Following is an

anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. यावा चिरस्मि पृथिवी ममेते ॥

उषासोषसः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उषासा, उषसः, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उषस उषासा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

31. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatā-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूयम्, उषासानक्ता ॥

मातरपितराबुदीचाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरौ, उदीचाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातरपितराविस्तृष्टीचामाचार्याणां मतेनारङ्गादेशो मातृशब्दस्य निपात्यते ॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरङ् substitution of the क of मातृ ॥ The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

पितरामातरा च छन्दसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातरा, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितरामातरा इति छन्दसि निपात्यते ॥

33. In the Vedas the form पितरामातरा is valid.

In the ordinary language मातापितरौ is the proper form. The Vedic form is derived by adding अङ् to the first member, and आ is added to the second by VII. 1. 39 : and then Guṇa by VII. 3. 110. Thus आ मा गन्तां पितरा-मातरा च ॥

स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥

पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, पुम्बत्, भाषितपुंस्कात्, अनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियाम्, अपूरणी, प्रियादिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्ः स्त्रीशब्दस्य पुंशब्दस्यैव रूपं भवति समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे स्त्रीलिङ्गे पूरणीप्रिया-दिवर्जिते ॥

34. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ्, and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis ; स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word', पुंवद् "like the masculine", i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्वेन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-

ence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (आशय) of the two words; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊह् is called अनुह् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊह् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कारनुह् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कारनुह् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुंस्कारनुह् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a (समानाधिकरण) i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus रक्षणीयभार्यः (= रक्षणीयाभार्या यस्य). Here रक्षणीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, रक्षणीयः, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊह्, but in the affix आ; it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रियादि class; hence this word रक्षणीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word रक्षणीय ॥ So also हलक्षणचूडः, दीर्घजङ्घः ॥ Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe मामाणि ब्राह्मणकुलं दृष्टिरस्य = मामणिदृष्टिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe खट्वाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of खट्वा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानायामाकृतौ"? Observe द्वेणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्वेण has not the same significance as द्वेणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊह्? Observe ब्रह्मचर्यभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यमाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi". Why do we say स्त्रियाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधाननेषां = कल्याणीप्रधानाः (इमे) ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? Observe कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां ताः = कल्याणी पञ्चमाराचवः, so also कल्याणीदशमाः ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः षष्ठः ॥ The samāsānta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as a secondary word: and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोहा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिदा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वामा) 15 तनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

तत्सिलादिग्राकृत्वसुचः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्सिलादिषु, आकृत्वसुचः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यास्तत्सिलित्यतः प्रवृत्ति संख्यायाः क्रियाद्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुचिति प्रागितस्माद् ये प्रत्ययास्तौ भाषितपुंस्कारनुह्स्त्रियाः पुंवङ्गवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सति बहुल्यार्थस्य पुंवज्ञायो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ स्वतलोर्गुणवचनस्य पुंवज्ञायो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अस्यादे तद्धिते पुंवज्ञायो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ङकुलसोम पुंवज्ञायो वक्तव्यः ॥

35. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ्, and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिच् &c (V. 3. 7) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17)

Thus तस्याः शालायाः = ततः, तस्यां = तत्र, यस्यां = यत्र, यस्या = यतः ॥ The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: च and तस्, तर्प् and तमप्, चरद्, जातीयर, कल्पप्, रेह्य, रेशीयर रूपप्, पाघप्, यम, धाल, हा and हिल् तित् तातित् ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तर्प् तमप् &c र्शनीयतरा, र्शनीयतमा, पटुचरी, पटुजातीया, र्शनीयकल्पा, र्शनीयरेशीया, र्शनीयरूपा, र्शनीयपाघा ॥ कया प्रकृत्या = कयम्, यया प्रकृत्या = यया, तस्यां वेलाया = तदा, तर्हि &c.

Vart:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प is changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix दास्:—as बहुनीयो रेहि = बहुशो रेहि; अल्पाभ्यो रेहि = अल्पशो रेहि ॥

Vart:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the affixes ल्व and तल् ॥ As पदव्या भावः = पदुल्वम् or पदुता ॥ Why do we say ‘an adjective’? Observe कव्या भावः = कणील्वं or कणीता ॥

Vart: The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ह्, when the word gets the designation of न् ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हस्तिकम् ॥ Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148), the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being sthānivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हस्तिनिकम् instead of हस्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say ‘with the exception of ह्’? Observe द्यैनेयः, रैहिनेयः the masculine being द्येत and रोहित ॥ The word आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी रेवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) is an exception to this rule.

Vart:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes ङक् and ङल् ॥ As भवत्या भ्रष्टाभा = भावल्काः, भवहीयाः ॥

क्यङ्मानिनोश्च ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यङ्, मानिनोः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यङि परतो मानिनि च स्त्रिया भाषितपुंस्कारपृङ् पुंवङ्भवति ॥

36. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed into masculine before the Denominative क्यङ्, and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, द्येनी—द्येतायते ॥ मानिन्:—र्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः “He esteems her as handsome”. र्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः “She esteems her as handsome”. The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words:—र्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तां =

दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देववत्तां यज्ञ-
इत्ता=दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्याः ॥

न कोपधायाः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ कोपधप्रतिषेधे बु तद्धितग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

37. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, कारिकाभार्यः, वृजिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाकल्पा, मद्रिकायते ॥ वृजिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी, वृजिकामानिनी, वैलेपिकं (वैलेपिकाया धर्म्यं). This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Virt:—The rule applies to the क् of the affix बु and the Taddhita क् and not to every क् ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः, भेकभार्यः ॥ The word पाका means “young”; and भेकी means ‘action’.

संज्ञापूरण्योश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, पूरण्योः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाः पूरण्यश्च स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus इत्ताभार्यः । गुप्ताभार्यः । इत्तापाशा । गुप्तापाशा । इत्तायते । गुप्तायते । इत्तामानिनी । गुप्तामानिनी । पूरण्याः । पञ्चमीभार्यः । इक्षमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा । इक्षमीपाशा । पञ्चमीयते । इक्षमीयते । पञ्चमीमानिनी । इक्षमीमानिनी ॥

वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य, च, तद्धितस्य, अरक्तविकारे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्तद्धितः स यद्वि रक्तेर्ये विकारे च न विहितः, तदन्तस्य स्त्रीभावस्य न पुंवद्भवति ॥

39. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix, which causes the Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning ‘colored therewith’, and ‘made there of’.

Thus औष्ठीभार्यः, माथुरीभार्यः, औष्ठीपाशा, माथुरीपाशा, औष्ठीयते, माथुरीयते, औष्ठीमानिनी and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say ‘which causes Vṛiddhi’? Observe मध्यमभार्यः (मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8 which does not cause Vṛiddhi). Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe काण्डलावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति=काण्डलावी with षण् (कर्मण्यण्) and ङीष्). Why do we say when not meaning ‘colored therewith’ or ‘made thereof’? Observe. कषायं रक्ता=काषायी, काषायी वृद्धित्वा यस्य = काषायवृद्धित्कः, लोहस्य विकारोलोही लोही ईषा यस्य रथस्य = लोहेषः (IV. 3. 134). The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or झ् or क् &c which causes

Vridddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावद्भायः यावद्भायः (तावती भार्या यस्य &c). Here the affix वतुप् V. 2. 39 added to तद् does not cause Vridddhi by its own force, but by VI. 3. 91.

स्वाङ्गाच्चेतो ऽमानिनि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गत्, च, इतः, अमानिनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गादुत्तरो य ईकारस्तदन्तायाः स्त्रिया न पुंश्चवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

40. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine, except when the word मानिन् follows.

Thus शीर्षकेशीभार्यः, शुक्लकेशीभार्यः, शीर्षकेशीपाशा, श्लक्ष्णकेशीपाशा, शीर्षकेशीयते, श्लक्ष्णकेशीयते, but पटुभार्यः (पटु not denoting any bodily member), भक्तेशभार्यः (भक्तेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई), and शीर्षकेशमानिनी ॥ The exception अमानिनि has been added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra.

जातेश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, च, (न) (अमानिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातेश्च स्त्रिया न पुंश्चवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

41. A feminine noun expressing a class or kind does not become masculine.

Thus कठीभार्यः, बह्वृषीभार्यः कठीपाशा, बह्वृषीपाशा, कठीयते, बह्वृषीयते ॥ But not so when मानिन् follows, as कठमानिनी, बह्वृषमानिनी ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥

पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंश्चत्, कर्मधारय, जातीय, देशीयेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे जातीय देशीय इत्येतयोश्च प्रत्यययोर्भाषितपुंस्कादन्तस्त्रियाः पुंश्चवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डादिषु पुंश्चवावो वक्तव्यः ॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus इत्तवृन्दारिका, इत्तजातीया, इत्तदेशीया, पंचमवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : सौम्यवृन्दारिका, सौम्यजातीया, सौम्यदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भाषितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ ; as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

Vārt :—The words कुक्कुटी &c become masculine before अण्ड &c as, कुक्कुट्या अण्डं = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ मृग्याःपदं = मृगपदम्, मृग्याःशीरं = मृगशीरम्. काक्याः शावः = काक-

चावः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

Vart :—When a word formed by an affix having an indicative स्, or the affixes तर and तम &c (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कालीमात्मानं मन्यते काल्येवाहम् = कालिमन्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरिणिमन्या, पट्वितरा. पट्वितमा, पट्विरूपा, पट्विकल्पा, पट्विका, मृष्टिका ॥ We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऊ ॥ The words इडविद्, हरद्, पृथ and उशिज् are names of countries denoting Kshatriya clans. The tadrāja affix (VI. 1. 168 and 170), is elided in forming the feminine of these (IV. 1. 177). Thus we have the compound of इडविद् वृन्सारिका ॥ When the first words become masculine, we have ऐडविड, शरद्, &c. Thus ऐडविडवृन्सारिका, ओशिजवृन्सारिका ॥

घरूपकल्पचेलडब्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ड्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, रूप, कल्प, चेलड, ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत, हतेषु, ड्यः, अनेकाचः, ह्रस्वः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घ रूप कल्प चेलड् ब्रुव गोत्र मत हत इत्येतेषु परतो भाषितपुस्कात्पर्यो यो ङीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

43. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, before चेल (with the feminine in ई), ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix ङी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus घ—ब्राह्मणितरा. ब्राह्मणितमा ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा. ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिब्रुवा ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलड् &c are words as second members; ब्रुवः is formed by भष् (III. 1. 134) added to हृ, गुण and वच् substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in ई (ङी)? Observe इत्तातरा, युमातरा ॥ Why do we say consisting of more than one syllable? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say having a corresponding masculine? Observe आमलकीतरा कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली have no equivalent masculine forms.

नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याः, शेषस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नद्याः शेषस्य चात्रिषु परतो ह्रस्वो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् । कश्च शेषः । अङो च या नदी डघन्त च यदेकाच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्रयाः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadî (I. 4. 3 and 4), the substitution of short vowel under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (डी), and are called Nadi; and those feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धूतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा वीरबन्धूतरा or वीरबन्धुतरा, स्त्रितरा or स्त्रीतरा, स्त्रितमा or स्त्रीतमा ॥

Vart:—Nadi words formed by कृन् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्त्रीतरा formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160)

उगितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (ह्रस्वः) (अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितश्च परस्या नद्या घादिषु अन्यतरस्यां ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

45. The feminine ई (डी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before the घ &c (VI. 3. 43).

Thus श्रेयसीतरा or श्रेयसीतरा, or श्रेयस्तरा, विदुषीतरा or विदुषीतरा or विदुस्तरा ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix ईयसुन्, and the second by कृसु ॥ In one alternative, there is masculinisation also when we get the forms श्रेयस्तरा &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from श्रेयस्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, महतः, समानाधिकरण, जातीययोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे जातीये च प्रत्यये परतो महत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ महात्वे घासकराविशिष्टेषूपसंख्यानं पुंवद्वचनं घासमानाधिकरणार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टनः कपाले हविष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ गवि च युक्ते ऽष्टन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

46. For the final of महत्, is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महादेवः, महाब्राह्मणः, महाबाहुः, महाबलः, महाजातीयः ॥ But महतः पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः "the son of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महत् takes place under II. 1. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact this is the object of using the word samānādhi-karana in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. 1. 61 but not to Bahuvrihis. In महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् संपन्नः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of महत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्याः करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टकपालं चरं निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked'. As, अष्टागत्रेण शकटेन ॥ But अष्टगवं ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The न् in आन् is for the sake of distinctness.

द्वयष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यष्टनः, संख्यायाम्, अबहुव्रीहि, अशीत्योः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अष्टन् इत्येतयोराकारदेशो भवति संख्यायादुत्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राक् शतादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वावृषः, द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशत्, अष्टावृषः, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टाविंशत् ॥ Why do we say द्वि and अष्टन्? Observe पञ्चदश ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Numeral'? Observe द्वे मातुरः, अष्टमातुरः ॥ Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्विः, विंशः, द्यशीतिः ॥

Vart:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, त्रिंशत्, त्रिसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

त्रेऋयः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयस्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि इत्येतस्य त्रयमित्ययमादेशो भवति संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

48. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीतिः ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रैमातुरः (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in त्रिंशः which is a Bahuvrīhi, (II. 2. 25) द्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिंशत्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चत्वारिंशत्, प्रभृतौ, सर्वेषाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ संख्यायादुत्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः सर्वेषां द्यष्टन् त्रि इत्येतेषां यदुक्तं तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

49. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रयःपञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत् or अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This also before hundred : as, द्विंशत् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिंशत् ॥

हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदणलासेषु ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य, हृत्, लेख, यत्, अण्, लासेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्य हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति लेख यत् अण् लास इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

50. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख, and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखाति = हृद्वेखः, हृदयस्य प्रियं = हृदयम्, हृदयस्येवम् = हार्दम्, हृदयस्य लासो = हृद्लासः ॥ The word लेख is derived by अण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by घञ् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim “उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययप्रहणे न तदन्तप्रहणम्” ॥ See VI. 3. 17.

वा शोकप्यभ्ररोगेषु ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शोक, प्यञ्, रोगेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोक प्यञ् रोग इत्येतेषु परतो हृदयस्य वा हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

51. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix प्यङ् follows.

Thus हृद्भोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्दम् or सौहृदप्यम् ॥ Here प्यङ् is added as हृदय belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class V. 1. 124. When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members ह्रु and हृ by VII. 3. 19. So also हृद्भोगः or हृदय-रोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृत् which is a *full* word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary.

पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादस्य, पत्, आजि, आति, ग, उपहतेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादस्य पद् इत्ययमादेशो भवति आजि आति ग उपहत इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेषु ॥

52. पद् is substituted for पाद, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादश्र्यामजतिः; पदातिः = पादश्र्यामति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are formed by ङ् from अज् and अत् (Uṇ IV. 131), and irregularly अङ् is not changed to वी though required by II. 4. 56; before this affix. So also पदगः = पादाभ्यां गच्छति; पदोपहतः = पदिनोपहतः ॥ पाद belongs to Vṛishādi class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the पद् substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपदेश (VI. 1. 171), therefore in पदोपहतः, पद् retains its accent (VI. 2. 48), and it becomes acute on the final. While पदाजिः, पदातिः and पदगः have acute on the final (VI. 1. 223 and kṛit-accent).

पद्यत्यतर्थे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, यति, अतदर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्यत्यये परतः पादस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवत्यतर्थे ॥

पार्श्विकम् ॥ पद्भावे द्वौ चरतावुपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत् used in any sense other than that of “suited there to;”

Thus पार्श्वविध्यन्ति = पद्याः शर्कराः, पद्याः कण्टकाः ॥ When यत् has the force of “suited there to” we have पाद्यम् = पार्श्वयुक्तम् ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).

Vart.—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद्; as पादाभ्यां चरति = पदिकः (IV. 4. 10) by छन् affix. The word पाद् in this sūtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V. I. 34, as द्विपाद्यम्, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद् here denotes 'a measure'.

हिमकाषिहतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिम, काषि, हतिषु, च, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिम काषिन् हति इत्येतेषु पादशब्दस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

54. पद् is substituted for पाद् before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्भिन्म्, (= पादस्य शीतं) पद्काषिन् (= पादचारिणः) as in अथ पद्काषिणा यान्ति, and पद्भतिः (पदाभ्यां हन्यते) ॥

ऋचः शे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचः, शे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋक्संज्ञिधनः पादशब्दस्य शे परतः पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

55. पद् is the substitute for पाद् before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्री संसति = पादं पादं संसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशब्दः कार्पापणं दशति ॥

वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, घोष, मिश्र, शब्देषु, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोष मिश्र शब्द इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु पादस्य वा पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्के चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

56. This substitution of पद् for पाद् is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पादघोषः, पद्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vart.—So also before निष्कः as पद्निष्कः or पादनिष्कः ॥

उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदकस्य, उदः, संज्ञायाम् (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदकशब्दस्य संज्ञायां विषये उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति उत्तरपदं परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संज्ञायामुत्तरपदस्य उदकशब्दस्य उदादेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

57. उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha', उदवाहः "a person named Uda-vāhah." The well-known Patronymics from these are औदमेघिः and औदवाहिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकगिरिः ॥

Vart.—उद is the substitute for उदक when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोहितोदः, नीलोदः, क्षीरोदः ॥

पेवंवासघाहनधिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पेवम्, वास, घाहन, धिषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पेवं वास घाहन धि इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु उदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

58. उद is substituted for उदक before पेवं, वास, घाहन, and धि ॥

Thus उद्वेषं पिनटि formed by जड्वल् by III. 4. 38; उद्वेषातः = उद्वक्तव्यवातः, so also उद्ववाहनः ॥ उद्वकं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उद्वधिः 'a water jar'.

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्ये अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, हलादौ, पूरयितव्ये, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह् आदिर्यस्योत्तरपदस्य तदेकहलादिस्तस्मिमेकहलादौ पूरयितव्यवाचिन्यन्यतरस्याधुरक्तस्य उद्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

59. उद्व is optionally substituted for उद्वक, before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उद्वकुम्भः, or उद्वकुम्भः, उद्वपात्रम् or उद्वकपात्रम् ॥ The word एकहलादि means 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'. The rule does not apply to उद्वक्त्यालम् as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant: nor to उद्वकपर्वतः, as the पर्वतः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्थोदनसक्तुविन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, विन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, गाहेषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्थ ओदन सक्तु विन्दु वज्र भार हार वीवध गाह इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेष्वृक्तस्य उद्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उद्व is optionally substituted for उद्वक, before मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, विन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उद्वकेन मन्थः = उद्वमन्थ or उद्वकमन्थः । उद्वकेनोदनः, उद्वोदनः or उद्वकोदनः । सक्तु । उद्वकेन सक्तुः, उद्वसक्तु or उद्वकसक्तुः । विन्दु । उद्वक्तस्य विन्दुः, उद्वविन्दुः or उद्वकविन्दुः । वज्र । उद्वक्तस्य वज्रः, उद्ववज्रः or उद्वकवज्रः । भार । उद्वकं विभर्तीति उद्वभारः or उद्वकभारः । हार । उद्वकं हरतीति, उद्वहारः or उद्वकहारः । वीवध । उद्वक्तस्य वीवध, उद्ववीवधः or उद्वकवीवधः । गाह । उद्वकं गाहति इति, उद्वगाहः or उद्वकगाहः ॥

इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्ग्यो गालवस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, ह्रस्वः, अङ्ग्यः, गालवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्याङ्ग्यन्तस्योत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति गालवस्याच्चार्यस्य मतेनान्यतरस्याम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ भूकुंसादीनामकारो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (ङी).

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (ङी) and for ऊ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus मामणिपुत्रः or मामणीपुत्रः, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्रः or ब्रह्मबन्धूपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe खट्वापादः, मालापादः ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ङी'? Observe गार्गीपुत्रः, वास्तीपुत्रः ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned pujaṛtha for the anuvṛtti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra. It is a limited option

pujārtha, (vyavasthita vibhāṣa), and does not apply to कारीषगन्धीपाति &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

Vart.—It does not apply to Avyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उयङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीकुलम्, भूकुलम्, काण्डीभूतम्, कुडपीभूतं, वृषलीभूतम् ॥

Vart.—It does however apply to भुङ्कुस &c, as भुङ्कुसः, भुङ्कुदिः ॥ Others say अ is substituted for भ &c as भ्रङ्कुसः and भ्रङ्कुदिः

एक तद्धिते च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक तद्धिते, च, (ह्रस्वः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकशब्दस्य तद्धिते उत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

62. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या आगतं = एकरूप्यम्, एकमयम्, एकस्या भावः = एकत्वम्, एकता ॥ So also एकस्याः क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम्, एकदुग्धम् ॥ The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका, having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI. 3. 35, i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the *final* letter, and not to a vowel situated in the body of a word.

ऊचापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊचापोः, संज्ञा, छन्दसोः, बहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दन्तस्याबन्तस्य च संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (ऊी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेवतिपुत्रः, रोहिणिपुत्रः, भरणिपुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः, नान्दीघोषः, नान्दीविद्यालः ॥ So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिदारा, प्रशर्विषः; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as फाल्गुनीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दाः ॥ आप् ending words in Name: शिलवहम्, शिलप्रस्थम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अजक्षीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णमवा पृथिवीं विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासृत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

त्वे च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वे, च, (ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्वप्रत्यये परतो ऊचापोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजत्वं or अजात्वं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥ These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित्तूलभारिषु ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ट का, इषी का, माला-
नाम्, चित, तूल, भारिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित्तूल भारिषु इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेषु यथासंख्य इहसो भवति ॥

65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in
इष्टका before चित, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिषु ॥

Thus इष्टकचित्तम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta
applies to इष्टका &c, so that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed
by this rule : as पक्वेष्टकचित्तम्, मुञ्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

खित्यनव्ययस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिति, अनव्ययस्य, (ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खित्यन्तउत्तरपदे ऽनव्ययस्य इहसो भवति ॥

66. A short is always substituted for the final of
the first member, when the second member is a word formed
by an affix having an indicative स्, but not when the first
member is an Indeclinable.

Thus कालिमन्या, हरिणिमन्या ॥ The augment मुम् does not prevent the
shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But शेषा-
मन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः, where शेषा and दिवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening.
The above words are formed by खश् (III. 2. 83). The phrase anavyayasya
indicates by implication that the word खित् here means खित्यन्तः, contrary to the
maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्नैष्यते ॥ For an
Avyaya can never take a खित् affix which are ordained only after dhātus.

अर्धद्विषदजन्तस्य मुम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरुस्, द्विषत्, अजन्तस्य, मुम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरुस् द्विषत् इत्येतयोरजन्तानां च खित्यन्तउत्तरपदे मुमागमो भवति अनव्ययस्य ॥

67. मुम् is the augment added immediately after
the final vowel, of अरुस्, द्विषत्, and of a stem ending in a
vowel, unless it is an Indeclinable, when a word formed by a
खित् affix follows.

Thus अरुन्तुवः, द्विषन्तपः, कालिमन्या &c. See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The स् of
अरुस् and the त् of द्विषत् are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say 'of अरुस् &c'? Observe विद्वन्मन्या ॥ Why do we say
'not an Indeclinable'? Observe शेषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः ॥ Why do we use
the word अन्त in अजन्त, when merely saying अच् would have sufficed by the
rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the prece-
ding sūtra does not debar the मुम् augment, nor does मुम् debar the shortening.
So that मुम् is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच्च एकाचोऽप्रत्ययवच्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्चः, एकाचः, अम्, प्रत्ययवत्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजन्तस्य एकाचः खित्यन्तउत्तरपदे ऽमागमो भवति षाप्रत्ययवच्च द्वितीयैकवचनवच्च स भवति ॥

68. A monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel other than अ, when followed by a word formed by a खित् affix, receives the augment अम्, which is added in the same way as the affix अम् of the Accusative singular.

The word अम् is to be repeated here thus, इच् एकाचोऽम्, अम्प्रत्ययवच् ॥ Thus गामन्यः, स्त्रीमन्यः, or स्त्रियमन्यः, भियमन्यः, भुवंमन्यः ॥ By force of the atideśa अम्प्रत्ययवत्, the changes produced by the Accusative ending are caused by this augment also : viz : the substitution of long आ, the substitution of a vowel homogenous with the first, the guṇa, the substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् As आ—गामन्यः (VI. 1. 93) ; पूर्ववर्ण as स्त्रीमन्यः (VI. 1. 107) ; guṇa, as,—नरमन्यः (VII. 3. 110) and इयङ् and उवङ्, as भियमन्यः, भुवंमन्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than अ (इच्)? Observe स्वन्मन्यः ॥ Why do we say 'a monosyllable'? Observe लेखाभुं मन्याः ॥

The affix अम् is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. 1. 23), therefore, will this अम् also be elided when श्री is treated as Neuter? As भियमात्मानं मन्यते ब्राह्मणकुलं = भियमन्यम् or भिमन्यम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

वाचंयमपुरन्दरौ च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचंयम, पुरन्दरौ, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाचंयम पुरंहर इत्येतौ निपात्येते ॥

69. वाचंयम and पुरन्दर are irregularly formed.

Thus वाचंयमः आस्ते (III. 2. 40 खच् affix). पुरं शरयति = पुरन्दरः (III. 2. 42). The shortening of याम and शर takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यागदस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अगदस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारश्चउत्तरपदे सत्य अगद इत्येतयोर्दुर्भागमो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अस्तुसत्यागदस्य कारश्चति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भक्षस्य छन्दासि कारे भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ धेनोर्भष्यायां भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ लोकस्य पूणे भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ इत्ये ऽनभ्याशस्य भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भ्राष्ट्रान्योरिन्धे भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ गिले ऽगिलस्य भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गिलगिले चति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उष्णमद्रयोः कारणे भुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ सुतोभराजभोजमेर्वित्ये तेभ्य उत्तरस्य दुहितृषाब्दस्य पुस्तकदारेषो वा वक्तव्यः ॥

70. भुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यकारः = सत्यंकरोति or सत्यस्यकारः ॥ So also अगदकारः ॥

Vart :—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुकारः ॥

Vart :—So also in Vedas, of भक्ष before कारः—e. g. भक्षंकार, in secular language भक्षकारः ॥

Vart :—Of धेनु before भष्या, e. g. धेनुंभष्या ॥

Vart :—Of लोक before पूज, e. g. लोकपूजा ॥

Vart:—Of अनभ्यास before इत्थ as अनभ्यासमित्थः ॥

Vart:—Of भ्रातृ and अग्नि, before इन्धः, as भ्रातृमिन्धः, अग्निमिन्धः ॥

Vart:—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल
e. g. तिमिलः, but गिलगिलः ॥

Vart:—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. तिमिलगिलः ॥

Vart:—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e. g. उष्णं करणं, भद्रं करणं ॥

Vart:—पुञ्च is optionally the substitute of दुहितृ when the words सून, उम, राज, भोज, and मेरु precede it e. g. सूनपुञ्ची or सूनदुहिता, उमपुञ्ची or उमदुहिता, राजपुञ्ची or राजदुहिता, भोजपुञ्ची or भोजदुहिता, मेरुपुञ्ची or मेरुदुहिता ॥ Some read पुञ्च in the Śāraṅgaravādi class (IV. 1. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुञ्ची ॥ This is seen in other places also, e. g. शैलपुञ्ची ॥

इयेनतिलस्य पाते ज्ञे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयेन, तिलस्य. पाते, ज्ञे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयेन तिलइत्येतयोः पातशब्दउत्तरपदे अपत्यये ममागमो भवति ॥

71. मुम् is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix ज्ञ is added.

Thus इयेनपातोऽस्यां क्रीडायां = इयेनपाता, तैलपाता ॥ See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before म ? Observe इयेनपातः ॥

रात्रेः कृति विभाषा ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, कृति, विभाषा, (मुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्रेः कृदन्तउत्तरपदे विभाषा मुमागमो भवति ॥

72. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिचरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमदः or रात्र्यदः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāṣā. The augment is compulsory before a kṛt-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिमन्यः ॥

नलोपो नञः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, नञः, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञो नकारस्य लोपो भवत्युत्तरपदे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपो ऽवक्षेपे तिङ्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The न of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अन्नाग्नयः. अवृषलः, असुराणः, असोमणः ॥

Vart:—The न of नञ् is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant : as, अपचसि त्वं जाल्मः, अकरोषि त्वं जाल्मः ॥

तस्मान्नुडचि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुद्, अचि, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मान्नुडचि नकारागमो भवति अजाशब्दउत्तरपदे ॥

74. After the above न-elided नञ् (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुद्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनञः, अनन्धः, अनुष्टुः ॥ Why do we use तस्मात् “after such a नञ्” ? Otherwise नुद् would have been the augment of नञ्, and not of the subsequent

word for: the sūtra would have read thus नुडाचि ॥ Adding नुद् to नम् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुद् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I. 1. 46). Now अन् + अजः will be अन्नजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final न् of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुद् is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to अ or नम् ॥

नभ्राणनपात्रवेदानासत्या नमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ॥ ७५ ॥
पदानि ॥ नभ्राद्, नपात्, नवेद्, नासत्या, नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र, नाकेषु, प्रकृत्या, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्राद् नपात् नवेद् नासत्या नमुचि नकुल नख नपुंसक नक्षत्र नख नक्र नाक इत्येतेषु नम् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेद्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative! नभ्राजते = नभ्राद्, formed by क्तिप् and नम् composition. न पाति = नपात् formed by घट् affix. न वेत्ति = नवेद्, formed by अमुन् ॥ सत्य साधवः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः ॥ न मुञ्चति = न मुचि, formed by क्ति affix (Uñadi), नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षियते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ड affix: न भस्मिन् भकम् = नाकम् ॥

एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादिः, च, एकस्य, च, अदुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकादिश्च नम् प्रकृत्या भवति एकश्चैकस्यादुगागमो भवति ॥

76. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अदुक् (अद्).

Thus एकेन न विशतिः = एकान्नविशतिः, एकान्नविशन् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds. The augment आदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकात् न विशतिः and एकान् न विशति by VIII. 4. 45.

नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगः, अप्राणिषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नम् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगः or भगाः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ड is added to गम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring

to animate beings. Observe अगः वृषलः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here.

सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

78. स is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus साश्वत्थम्, सपलाशम्, साक्षीशम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुष्मा, सहकुत्सा ॥ The word सह has acute on the first syllable, because all Particles have acute on the first syllable. The substitute स coming in the room of the acute स and the grave ह, will have an accent mid-way between सह acute and ह grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As सह्युक्, सह्यार्थः ॥ These are Bahuvrihi. In Avyayibhāva, the samāsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223), as सेटि, सपशुबन्धम् ॥

ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रन्थान्त, अधिके, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रन्थान्ते अधिके च वर्त्तमानस्य सहस्यस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

79. स is the substitute for सह, when it has the sense of 'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work), or 'more'.

Thus सकलं = कलान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also सद्युक्तम् = (युक्तान्तम्) ॥ स संग्रह (= संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva compounds by ° अन्त-वचने (II. 1. 6). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book'. When the sense is that of 'more', we have सङ्गोणाख्यारी, समासः कार्षापणः सकाकिणीको मासः ॥

द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीये, च, अनुपाख्ये, (सहस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये अनुपाख्ये सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

80. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter however is not directly perceived.

Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य, i. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus सामिः (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where'. सविद्या बाला "a storm-wind which announces the Piśāchas". सराक्षसीका बाला ॥ Here the fire, the Piśācha or the Rākshasas are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon &c.

अव्ययीभावे चाकाले ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावे, च, अकाले, (सहस्यसः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावे च समासे ऽकालवाचिन्युत्तरपदे सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

81. स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayibhâva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रंघेहि, मयुरं प्राजः, but सहपूर्णाङ्गम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. I. 5).

वोपसर्जनस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उपसर्जनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वोपसर्जनो बहुव्रीहिर्गृह्यते । तदवयवस्य सहस्यस्य वा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

82. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrîhi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood. Thus सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, सञ्ज्ञात्रः or सहञ्ज्ञात्रः ॥ Why do we say of a Bahuvrîhi ? Observe सहयुष्मा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrîhi like सहकृत्वमियः or सहपुत्रमियः ॥

प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, आशिषि, अ, गोवत्सहलेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या सहस्यस्यो भवति आशिषि विषये ऽगोवत्सहलेषु ॥

83. The word सह retains its original form when the sentence denotes benediction, except when it is गो, वत्स or हल ॥

Thus स्वस्ति देवस्ताय सहपुत्राय, सहञ्ज्ञात्राय, सहामात्याय ॥ But optionally here, as स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सवत्साय, सहहाय, or सहाय ॥ The phrase अगोवत्सहलेषु is no part of the original sūtra, but has been added by the Kāśikā from a Vārtika.

समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्ध्वप्रभृत्युदकेषु ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानस्य, छन्दसि, अ, मूर्ध्व, प्रभृति, उदकेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये मूर्ध्वं प्रभृति उदकं इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि वर्जयित्वा ॥

84. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूर्ध्वं, प्रभृति and उदकं ॥

Thus अनुधाता सगर्भः, अनुसखा सयूथः, योनः समूलः (See IV. 4. 114). समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, तत्र भवः = सगर्भः formed by यन् affix IV. 4. 114. But समानमूर्ध्वं, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदकाः ॥ This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सपंक्षः, साधर्म्यम्, सजातीयः &c.

ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नाम, गोत्ररूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयोवचन, बन्धुषु, (समानस्यसः)

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् जनपद रात्रि नाभि नामन् गोत्र रूप स्थान वर्ण वयस् वचन बन्धु इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेषु समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

85. This substitution of स for समान् takes place before ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्यातिः, सजनपदः, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनामा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सवर्णः, सवयः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणे, ब्रह्मचारिणि, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) वृत्तिः ॥ चरणे गम्यमाने ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

86. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ ब्रह्म means the Vedas. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow, the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ According to Bhattoji Dikshit चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a sa-brahmchāri.

तीर्थे ये ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर्थे, ये, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीर्थं गच्छन् उत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययपरे परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थः = समाने तीर्थे वासी (IV. 4. 107). 'a fellow-student ?

विभाषोदरे ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उदरे, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदरं गच्छन् उत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययान्ते समानस्य विभाषा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

88. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सोदर्यः or समानोदर्यः (IV. 4. 108).

दृग्दृशवतुषु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृक्, दृश, वतुषु, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृक् दृश वतु इत्येतेषु परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दृष्टेः कसप्रत्ययोपि तत्रैव वक्तव्यः ॥

89. स is substituted for समान, before दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥ The affixes कश् and क्तिन् are added to दृश् under III. 2. 60. Vārti:—which give as the forms दृक् and दृश ॥ Vārti:—So also before दृक्षः as सदृक्षः ॥ दृक्ष is formed by क्स affix under III. 2. 60. Vārtika. The affix वत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

इदं किमोरीशकी ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ इदम्, किमोः, ईश, की, (दृग्दृशवतुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदं किम् इत्येतयोरीश की इत्येतौ यथासंख्यमादेशो भवतौ दृग्दृशवतुषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. ई is substituted for इद्म् and की for किम् before the words इक्, इश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus इहक्, ईहशः and इयान्, कीहक्, कीहशः and कियान् ॥ ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई + इयत् and को + इयत् by V. 2. 40 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 : and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vārt :—So also before इक्ष, as ईहक्षः and कीहक्षः ॥

आ सर्वनाम्नः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वनाम्नः, (इग्दशवतुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न आकारादेशो भवति इग्दशवतुषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words इक्, इश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus ताहक्, ताहशः, तावान्, याहक्, याहशः, यावान् ॥

Vārt :—So also before इक्ष, as ताहक्षः and याहक्षः ॥

विष्वदेवयोश्च देरद्याञ्चतौ (ता) वप्रत्यये ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्वक्, देवयोः, च, टेः, अद्रि, अञ्चतौ, अप्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वक् देव इत्येतयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च देरद्वीत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौता वप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्मसि स्त्रियां बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

92. In the room of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च with the affix च follows.

Thus विष्वगञ्चति = विष्वद्याङ्, This form is thus evolved. अञ्च + विवन् = अञ्च + O = अञ्च + नुप् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ञ्च, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the विन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वदि gives the above form. देवद्याङ्, तद्याङ्, यद्याङ् ॥ अद्रि and सद्रि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipātan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when इ is changed into ऋ the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विष्वन् and देव? Observe अश्वाची = अश्वमञ्चति, the feminine ङीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vārt*. The अ of अच् is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अश्वा is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अञ्च follows'? Observe विष्वग्युक् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix च follows'? Observe विष्वगञ्चनं ॥ The व is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अप्रत्यये (अञ्चतावप्रत्यये). It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates by implication that in other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अप्रत्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when अच् followed, but when अच्चाना ending in ल्युट् also followed. The maxim धातुपहणे तद्वादि विधिरिच्यते is illustrated in अयस्कृते and

अयस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृतं which is followed merely by the verb कृ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Vārt:—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns: thus in “विश्वाची च घृताची च” there is no substitution in विश्वाची, but in कद्नीची there is this substitution. कद्नीची is derived from कद् + अङ् = कद्भि + अङ् ॥ Then is added डीप् and then like अश्वाची ॥

समः समि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, समि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समिलेतस्य समि इत्ययमादेशो भवति अङ्चतो व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ॥

93. समि is substituted for सम, before this अङ् when no affix (or व affix) follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यङ्चो, सम्यङ्चः ॥

तिरस्स्तिर्यलोपे ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरस्, तिरि, अलोपे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरस् इत्येतस्य तिरि इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यङ्चतो व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ऽलोपे । अशा ऽस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

94. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अङ् when no affix (or व affix) follows, provided that the अ of अङ्च is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यङ्चो, तिर्यङ्चः ॥ Why do we say ‘when there is no elision’? Observe तिरिषा, तिरिषे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) “where अ is elided” or (2) “Where there is no elision”. The latter meaning should be taken however.

सहस्य सद्भिः ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सद्भिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेत्यस्य सद्भिरित्ययमादेशो भवत्यङ्चतो व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ।

95. सद्भि is the substitute of सह, before अङ् followed by no affix (or व affix).

Thus सध्यङ्, सध्यङ्चो, सध्यङ्चः; and सद्भीषः, सद्भीषा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मादस्ययोश्छन्दसि ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सध, माद, स्थयोः, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माद स्य इत्येतयोश्छन्दस्योः सहस्य सध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

96. सध is substituted for सह in the Veda, when माद and स्थ follow.

Thus सधमादोऽयुम्य एकास्ताः, सधस्थाः ॥ Another example is आत्वा बृहन्तो हरयो युजाना, अर्वाग्निन् सधमादो बहन्तु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहमाद्यन्ति देवा अस्मिन् ॥

द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्यो ऽप ईत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, अन्तर्, उपसर्गेभ्यः, अपः, ईत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अन्तरित्येताभ्यामुपसर्गाञ्छोत्तरस्यावित्येतस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समापईत्ये प्रतिषेधो यत्कस्य ॥ वा० ॥ ईत्यमनवर्णाईति यत्कस्यम् ॥

97. After द्वि, अन्तर् and Prepositions, long ई is the substitute of अप् ॥

By I. 1. 54, ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् viz अ only. Thus द्वीपः, अन्तरीपः, नीपम्, वीपम्, सनीपम् ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vārt :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम द्वेयजनम् ॥ Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रापम्, परापम् ॥ The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means प्र &c.

ऊदनोर्द्वे ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, अनोः, देशे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरस्याप ऊकारदेशो भवति देशाभिधाने ॥

98. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) 'अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपो देशः, but अनूपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊपः = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उपः = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

अषष्ठ्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अषष्ठी, अतृतीयास्थस्य, अन्यस्य, दुक्, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक, राग, च्छेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अषष्ठीस्थस्य अतृतीयास्थस्य चान्यशब्दस्य दुगागमो भवति आशि स् आशा आस्था आस्थित उत्सुक ऊति कारक राग छ इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

Kārikā—दुगागमो ऽविशेषेण वक्तव्यः कारकच्छयोः ।

षष्ठीतृतीययोर्नेष्ट आशीरादिषु सप्तसु ॥

99. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (दू), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यशशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यशशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यशस्था, अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यशस्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यवृत्तिः, अन्यः कारकः अन्यत्कारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्रागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यहीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गृहादि class (IV. 2. 138.)

The word अन्य belongs to गृहादि class (IV. 2. 138). Why do we say when not in Genitive or the Instrumental? Observe अन्यस्य आशीः = अन्याशीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c : as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारकम्, अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यहीयम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अषष्ठी and अतृतीया), implies this.

अर्थे विभाषा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, विभाषा, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थशाब्दोत्तरपदे अन्यस्य विभाषा दुर्गागमा भवति ॥

100. दुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थ follows.

As अन्यवर्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

कोः कत्तत्पुरुषे ऽचि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोः, कत्त तत्पुरुषे, अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु इत्येतस्य कदित्ययमादेशो भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे ऽजाशब्दोत्तरपदे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कदापि बापुपसंख्यानम् ॥

101. कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As कदजः, कदम्भः, कदुष्टः, कदम्भम् ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कृष्टो राजा ॥ Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe कुब्राह्मणः, कुपुरुषः ॥

Vārt :—कत् is substituted before वय, as कवयः=कुस्तितावयः ॥

रथवदयोश्च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ, वदयोः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथ वद इत्येतयोश्चोत्तरपदयोः कोः कदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

102. कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and वद also.

Thus कद्वयः, कद्वरः ॥

तृणे च जातौ ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणे, च, जातौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृणशब्दोत्तरपदे जातावभिधेयायां कोः कदादेशो भवति ॥

103. कत् is substituted for कु, when तृण follows denoting a species.

As कच्छणा नाम जातिः ॥ But कुस्तितानि तणानि=कुतृणानि ॥

का पथ्यक्षयोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ का, पथि, अक्षयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् भक्ष इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

104. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापथः and काक्षः ॥

ईषदर्थे ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदर्थे वर्त्तमानस्य कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. का is the substitution for कु, when the meaning is 'a small'.

As कामधुरम्, कालवणम्, कागलम् ॥ Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 : as कोष्णम् ॥

विभाषा पुरुषे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पुरुषे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दोत्तरपदे विभाषा कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāṣā. In the sense of 'a little ईषद्', the substitution is compulsory ; as ईषद् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

कचञ्चोष्णे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कचम्, च, उष्णे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्णशब्दउत्तरपक्षे कोः कचञ्चिद्व्ययमादेशो भवति का च विभाषा ॥

107. का and कचञ् are optionally the substitutes of कृ when उष्ण follows.

As कचोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कतुष्णम् ॥

पथि चञ्छन्दसि ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दउत्तरपक्षे छन्दसि विषये कोः कच का इत्येतावदेशो भवतो विभाषा ॥

108. This substitution of का, and कच for कृ takes place in the Veda, before पथ ॥

Thus कचपथः, कापथः and कृपथः ॥

पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृषोदरादीनि, यथोपदिष्टम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृषोदरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि येषु लोपागमवर्णविकाराः शास्त्रेण न विहिता दृश्यन्ते च तानि यथोप-
दिष्टानि साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दिक्शब्दभ्य उत्तरस्य तीरस्य तार भावो वा भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वाचो वाचि डत्वं च लभावश्चोत्तरपक्षेऽपि प्रत्यये ॥

वा० ॥ अपउत्वं वृत्तवशात्तुत्तरपक्षेऽपि प्रत्यये च ॥

वा० ॥ दुरोशशानाश्वमध्येऽप्युत्वं वक्तव्यमुत्तरपक्षेऽपि प्रत्यये च ॥

वा० ॥ स्वरो रोहती छन्दस्युत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ पीशपवसनादीनां च लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārikā—वर्णागमो वर्णविषयश्च द्वौ चापरो वर्णविकारनामौ ।

धातोस्तर्थातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्यते पञ्चविधं निरुक्तम् ॥

109. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषादर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोपदिष्टम् = विशिष्टरूपाणि ॥ Thus पृषदुरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्धानं यस्य = पृषोद्धानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वरिवाहकः = बलाहकः, here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहकः; जीवनस्य मृतः = जीमूतः, here वन has been elided; शवानां शयनं = इमशानम्; here इम replaces शव; and शान for शयन ॥ उर्जं खमस्य = उर्जखलम्; here खल replaces ऊध, and खल replaces खम ॥ पिशिताशः = पिशाचः ॥ छ्वन्तोस्यांसीवन्ति = बसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix उद् in the locative, and वृष is replaced by ब ॥ मद्रो रोहि = मयूरः ॥ Here मद्रो is replaced by मयू, and the final of द् is elided before the affix शच् ॥ And so on with अश्वस्य, कपिस्थ &c.

Vart:—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as वक्षिणीतीरम् or संक्षिणीतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vart:—Before the Patronymic इम् affix, वाग्वाद् becomes वाङ्गाल as, वाग्वाद्-स्यापत्यं = वाङ्गालः ॥

Vart:—The final of वष् is changed to उ before वृष्, वृषा, and धा (meaning

'location'): and the first letter of the second member is changed to **ड** or **ढ** ॥ Thus **षड् वन्ता अस्य = षाडन्**; so **षोडश**; **षड्धा** or **षोढा कुरु** ॥ The addition of **ड** is optional here. The putting of **धा** in the plural number indicates that **धा** has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण). In fact it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore does not apply to these:—**षड् वधाति** or **धयति = षड्धा** ॥

Vart.—The final of **दुर्** is changed to **ड**, before **हास**, **नास**, **रभ** and **ध्वे** and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus **दुःखेन शम्भ्यते**, **नास्यते**, **रभ्यते** यः = **वूडासः**, **वूणासः**, **वूडभः**; In the last (**रम्भ**) there is elision of the nasal also. **दुष्ट ध्यायति = वूड्यः** ॥ Here is added the affix **क** to the root **ध्या** (**ध्वे**) preceded by the upapada **दुः**, by III. I. 136.

Vart.—**ड** is substituted for the final of **स्वर्** when the verb **रुह** follows in the Vedas: as **एहिस्व जयिस्वो रोहाव** (रोहाव is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Vart.—The final of **पीवस्**, **पयस्** &c. is elided in the Vedas. as **पीवोप वस-मानां**, **पवोपवसनानाम्** ॥

संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याहस्याहनन्यतरस्यां डौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वि, साय, पूर्वस्य, अहस्य, अहन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, डौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्या वि साय इत्येवपूर्वस्याहस्यस्य स्थाने अहनित्यमादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां डौ परतः ॥

110. **अहन्** may optionally be substituted for **अह**, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or **वि** or **साय** precedes it.

Thus **द्वयोर्द्वोर्भवः = द्वाहः**, **त्रयहः** ॥ The Locative singular of these are **द्वाह्नि** or **द्वाहनि**, **त्रयह्नि** or **त्रयहनि** ॥ So also **द्व्यह्ने**, **त्र्यह्ने** ॥ With **वि**—**व्याह्नि**, **व्यहनि** or **व्यह्ने**; **साय**—**सायाह्नि**, **सायाहनि**, **सायाह्ने** ॥ These are **एकशेषसमासः**, and this very sūtra is an indicator that **अहन्** may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or **वि** or **साय** ॥ Thus we have **मध्याह्ने = मध्यमहः** (II. 2. 1). But **पूर्वाह्ने** and **अपराह्ने** only.

दूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घो ऽणः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूलोपे, पूर्वस्य, दीर्घः, अणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङकारेफयोर्लोपो यस्मिन् स दूलोपः, तत्र पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घो भवति ॥

111. When **द्व** or **त्र** is elided, for the preceding **अ**, **इ** and **उ** a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus **मीढम्**, **मीढम्**, **उपगूढम्** ॥ **रलोपे-निर्-रक्तम् = नीरक्तम्**, **अग्निर् रथः = अग्नीरथः**, **इन्द्र रथः**, **पुनः रक्तम् वासः**, **प्राता राजकयः** ॥ For the elision of **द्व** see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of **त्र** see VIII. 3. 14. But **आवृढम्**, the **ढ** is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratyahāra **अण्** which is formed with the **ण्** of **अ इ उ णा**

सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहि, वहोः, ओत्, अवर्णस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहि वहि इत्येतयोरवर्णस्योकार आदेशो भवति दूलोपे ॥

112. When **द्व** or **त्र** are elided, there is the substitution of **ओ** for the **अ** or **आ** of the verbs **सह** and **वह** ॥

Thus सोढा, सोढुम्, सोढव्यम्, षोढा, षोढुम् and षोढव्यम् ॥ Why do we say of अ or आ? Observe ऊढः, ऊढयाम् ॥ Why do we say अवर्णं which includes long आ also? The rule will apply even when the short अ of सह and वृह is changed to आ by Vṛiddhi: as उवोढायम्, उवोढव्यम् ॥ Had merely अ been read into the sūtra, instead of अवर्णं then coming after the न् of ओन्, it would have denoted only short अ (तावपि परः = तपरः I. 1. 75).

साढ्यै साद्वा साढेति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साढ्यै, साद्वा, साढा, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साढ्यै साद्वा साढा इति निगमे निपात्यन्ते ॥

113. साढ्यै, साद्वा and साढा are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साढ्यै समस्तान्, साद्वा षाद्वा ॥ The latter is formed by त्वा affix, the ओ substitution not taking place. In the other alternative त्वा is changed to षो ॥ साढा is formed by नृच् affix. In the secular literature सोढा and सोद्वा are the proper forms.

संहितायाम् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायामित्येवमधिकारः । यदित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

114. In the following sūtras upto the end of the pāda, are to be supplied the following words :—"In an un-interrupted flow of speech".

Thus sūtra VI. 3. 135 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns". Thus विद्माहिस्वा सत्याति शूर गोनाम् The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have चिष्ट, हि, त्वा, सत्याति, शूर, गोनाम् ।

कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रुवस्वस्तिकस्य ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्णे, लक्षणस्य, अविष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुव, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णे शब्दे उत्तरपदे लक्षणवाचिनी दीर्घो भवति विष्ट अष्टम् पञ्चम् मणि भिन्न छिन्न छिद्र स्रुव स्वस्तिक इत्येतान्त्रजावेषा ॥

115. Before कर्ण, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle, but not when the words are चिष्ट, अष्टम्, पञ्चम्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुव and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus शत्राकर्णः, द्विगुणाकर्णः, त्रिगुणाकर्णः, ब्रह्मगुणाकर्णः, अङ्गुलाकर्णः ॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say when it denotes such a mark?

Observe शोभनकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of षिट् &c'? Observe षिट्कर्णः ॥ भट्कर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, स्रवकर्णः, स्वास्तिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः ॥

नहि वृत्तिवृत्तिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु कौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहि, वृत्ति, वृधि, व्यधि, रुचि, सहि, तमिषु, कौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहि वृत्ति वृधि व्यधि रुचि सहि तमि इत्येतेषु विषयस्यान्तेषु सारपरेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति संज्ञितायां विषये ॥

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यष्, रुच्, सह् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्ति ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीवृत्, उपावृत्, (with vřt) प्रावृत्, उपावृत्, (with vřsh) ममावृत्, इत्यावृत्, आवृत्, (with vyadh) नीवृक्, अभीरुक्, (with ruch) कृतावृद्, (with sah) तरीतद् (with tan). The nasal is elided after गन् before क्ति (VI. 4 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तच् also. Why do we say when क्ति follows? Observe परिणहनम् ॥

वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलकादीनाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वन, गिर्योः, संज्ञायाम्, कोटर, किंशुलकादीनाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन गिरि इत्येतयोः सारपरेष्वोर्यथासंख्यं कोटरादीनां किंशुलकादीनां च दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

117. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किंशुलक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिन्नकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किंशुलकागिरिः, अरुजनागिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII. 4. 4. But असिपन्नवनम् and कुण्डगिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिन्नक, 4 पुरा (पुरक), 5 सारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किंशुलक (किंशुलक), 2 शास्त्र (शास्त्रक), 3 नह्, 4 अरुजन, 5 अरुजन, 6 मोहित, 7 कुण्ड ॥

वले ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वले, (पूर्वस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वले परतः पूर्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुस्वाहभ्रातृपितृणामिति ॥

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल् ॥

Thus आद्युतीवलः, कृषीवलः, इत्यावलः ॥ These are formed by the affix वल् (V. 2. 112).

Vart:—Not so, of उत्साह, भ्रातृ and पितृ : as उत्साहवलः, भ्रातृवलः and पितृवलः ॥

मतौ बह्वचो ऽमजिरादीनाम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ, बह्वच्, अमजिरादीनाम्, (संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतौ परतौ बह्वचो ऽमजिरादीनाम् दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मन्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus उदुम्बरावती, मद्यकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मनुप् (IV. 2. 85) The मन् is changed to वन्, by VIII. 2. 11. Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables? Observe व्रीहिमती ॥ Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c'. Observe अजिरवती, खरिवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खरि, 3 पुलिन. 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक.

शरादीनां च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ शरादीनाम्, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरादीनां च मतो दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

120. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मन् when it is a Name.

As शरावती, वंशावती ॥ The न of मन् is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11). But not so after व्रीहि &c as these belong to वयादि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कवि, 6 मणि, 7 धुनि, 8 शुचि, 9 हनु.

इको वहे ऽपीलोः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, वहे, अपीलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य पीलुवर्जितस्य वहदत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपील्लादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

121. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कपीवहम्, धुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vart.—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As शरुवहम् ॥

उपसर्गस्य घञमनुष्ये बहुलम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, घञि, अमनुष्ये, बहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्य घञन्तदत्तरपदे ऽमनुष्येभिधेये बहुलं दीर्घो भवति ॥

122. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus नीह्रेः, वीमार्गः, अपामार्गः ॥ It does not take place, as प्रसेचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before सार and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासारः and प्राकारः, otherwise प्रसारः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेद्य &c. as प्रतिवेद्यः or प्रतीवेद्यः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥ When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निपात्रो मनुष्यः ॥

इकः काशे ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, काशे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य काशश्चउत्तरपरे शीर्षो भवति ॥

123. A Preposition ending in इ, or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As नीकाशः, बीकाशः, अनूकाशः ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

इस्ति ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इः, ति, (दीर्घः इकः उपसर्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इ इत्येतस्य वस्तुकारिणोऽस्तिस्मिन्नपर इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य शीर्षो भवति ॥

124. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final vowel, before the verb दा, when the latter is changed to त ॥

Thus नीत्तम्, बीत्तम्, परीत्तम् ॥ See VII. 4. 47 for the change of दा to त ॥ But प्रत्तम्, अवत्तम्, where the prepositions do not end in इ or उ ॥ Why do we say 'दा is changed to त'? Observe वित्तीर्णम् नित्तीर्णम् ॥ Why do we say ति 'a substitute of दा, beginning with a त'? Observe सुवत्तम्, here इद् is the substitute of दा (VII. 4. 46).

अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनित्येतस्योत्तरपरे संज्ञायां शीर्षो भवति ॥

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टावक्रः, अष्टावन्धुरः अष्टापदम् ॥ But अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसि च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽष्टन उत्तरपरे शीर्षो भवति ॥

वार्णिकम् ॥ गवि च युक्ते भाषायामष्टनो शीर्षो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

126. In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a second member.

Thus आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्, अष्टाहिरण्या सक्षिणा, अष्टापरी देवता सुमती ॥ The form अष्टापरी is the feminine in ङीप् (IV. 1. 8) of अष्टपान् (V. 4. 138 the अ of पाद् being elided in a Bahuvrihi), षद् being substituted for पान् by VI. 4. 130.

Vdt:—The final of अष्टन् is lengthened before गो even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus अष्टागवं शकटम् ॥

चित्तेः कपि ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्तेः, कपि, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तिशब्दस्य कपि परतो शीर्षो भवति ॥

127. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकषितीकः, द्विषितीकः, त्रिषितीकः ॥

विश्वस्य वसुराटोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विश्वस्य, वसु, राटोः, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विश्वराट्स्य वसु राटित्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्दीर्घं भवति ॥

128. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्).

Thus विश्ववसुः, विश्वराट् ॥ The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

नरे संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नरे, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नरराजद्वयस्य संज्ञायां विषये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

129. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a Name.

Thus विश्वानरः, वैश्वानरिः (the son of Vishvánara). But विश्वनरः = विश्वे नरा वस्य when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्यौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, ऋषौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित्रे चोत्तरपदे ऋषावभिधेये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

130. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvāmitra'. But विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Viśvamitra'.

मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय, विश्वदेव्यस्य, मतौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये सोम अश्व इन्द्रिय विश्वदेव्य इत्येतेषां मतुपत्यये परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय and विश्वदेव्य are lengthened when the affix मतुप् follows.

Thus सोमावती, अश्वावती, इन्द्रियावती, विश्वदेव्यावती ॥

ओषधेश्च विभक्तावप्रथमायाम् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओषधेः, च, विभक्तौ, अप्रथमायाम्, (मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिशब्दस्य विभक्तावप्रथमायां परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

132. In a Mantra, the final of ओषधि is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus ओषधीभिरपीपतत्, नमः पृथिव्यै नमः ओषधीभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe ओषधिपते ॥ Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe स्थिरयमस्त्वोषधिः ॥

ऋचि तुनुघमधुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचि, तु, नु, घ, मधु, तङ्, कुत्र, उरुष्याणाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचि विषये तु नु घ मधु तङ् कु त उरुष्य इत्येषां दीर्घो भवति ॥

133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles तु, तु, घ, मधु, the tense-affix तङ्, कु, the ending ञ and the word उरुष्य are lengthened.

Thus तु :—आ तु न इन्द्र वृषहन् (Rig IV. 32. 1) तु—तू करणे ॥ घ :—इत वाषा स्यात् ॥ मधु :—मधू गोमन्तमीमहे ॥ तङ् :—अरता जातवेदसम् (Rig X. 176. 2). तङ् is the त substitute of था, when it is treated as डित्, therefore it does not apply here, भृणोत भावाणः (I. 2. 4). कु—कूमनस् ; ञ—अञा गौः ; उरुष्या जेभिः ॥

इकः सुञि ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, सुञि, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इय् निपातो वृद्धते । इगन्तस्य सुञि परतो मन्त्रविषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

134. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in इ or उ are lengthened before the particle सु ॥

Thus अभी सु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) उर्थ ऊ पुण उतये (Rig I. 36. 13). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 107: and न changed to ञ by VIII. 4. 27.

द्वयचोतस्तिङ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यचः, अतः, तिङ्, (ऋचि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयचस्तिङ्गन्तस्यात ऋग्विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

135. A tense affix ending in अ is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विष्ठा हि स्वा सत्पार्ति शूर गोनाम् &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विष्ठा हि तस्य पितरम् &c. But not here देवा भवत वाञ्छिनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables: not also here आ देवान् वसि वसि च as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

निपातस्य च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातस्य, च, (ऋचि) (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निपातस्य च ऋग्विषये दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus एवा ते, अच्छाते, अच्छा जरितारः (R. I. 2. 2).

अन्येषामपि दृश्यते ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषाम्, अपि, दृश्यते, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येषामपि दीर्घो दृश्यते स शिष्टप्रयोगादनुगन्तव्यः ॥ अस्य दीर्घत्वं न विहितं दृश्यते च प्रयोगे तदमेन कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वाञ्छिकम् ॥ शूनो इन्तर्द्व्यार्कणकुन्तवराहपुच्छपदेषु ॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Śishṭhas. Where the lengthening is not ordained by any of the rules of Grammar, but occurs in the writing of standard authors, there we should accept such lengthening as valid. Thus केशाकोशे, कषाकषि, जलासाद्, नारकः, पूरुषः ॥

VArt:—The final of अन् is lengthened before the following हन्त, ह्रस्व, कर्ण कुन्, वराह, पुच्छ, and परः—as आहन्तः आह्रस्वः, आकर्णः, आकुन्ः, आवराहः, आपुच्छः, आपरः ॥

चौ ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, (पूर्वस्यदीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चौ परतः पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥ चावित्यञ्चतिर्लुप्तनकाराकारो गृह्यते ॥

138. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus हधीचः पञ्च, हधीचा, हधीचे, मधूचः पञ्च, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The nasal of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the अ by VI. 4. 138. In हधि+अच् the इ is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antarangā rule, because the present sūtra ordains specifically long ई, and so also हधी+अच् and मधू+अच् ॥ See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपदे दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणान्तस्य पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारीषगन्धीपुनः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः, कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13. कारीषस्त्वेष गन्धोऽस्य=कारीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samāsānta by V. 4. 136 and 137). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61. does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परस्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139; and the rule VI. 3. 61 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानं "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival सकृत्प्रज्ञा, विप्रतिषेधेयत्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

ओम् ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH

अङ्गस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोद्यमाऽऽसप्तमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित् उर्द्धमनुकमिष्यामोऽङ्गस्येत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

1. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sūtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprasâraṇa : as कृतः, जीतः, संजीतः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निर् + वेष्ट् + क्त = निरुतम्, the vocalised vowel इ is not lengthened, as निर् is upasarga and not stem. So दुरुतम् ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाम्, as अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् ॥ But क्रिमिणाम् पद्म, पामनां पद्म, as मि and न are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is क्रिमिण and पामना 'a female having क्रिमि or पामन्', formed by न affix (V. 2. 100). The forms क्रिमिणाम् and पामनाम् are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after अ, भिस् is changed into ऐस् ॥ As वृक्षैः, श्वैः ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem : hence not here ब्राह्मणभिस्सा, ओदनभिस्सदा, the भिस् does not follow an aṅga. भिस्स means boiled rice and भिस्सदा means दधिः ॥

The maxim of अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य does not apply here ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of making this sūtra. For example, in the sūtra नामि (VI. 4. 3), the affix नाम् having a meaning would have been meant, and not any other नाम् ॥

The word अङ्गस्य must be read in the following sūtras, otherwise there would arise incongruity : first; sūtras teaching the lengthening of the vowel when सन् or Samprasaraṇa follows, thus : VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before सन्, as विधीयति ; but not here इधि सनोति for इ of इधि is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasârana, but not in निरुत &c as shown above.

2ndly—For the purposes of एस्व in sūtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of आ into ए must refer to anga, as ग्लेयान् or ग्लायान्, but not here निर्वा-यान् or निर्वायान्, for here र् is not part of the anga, and so र्व cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of तु to तान् in VII. 1. 35. There also तु must be portion of the anga, and not the particle तु, therefore, जीवतु or जीवतान्, but not here जीव तु स्वम् ॥

4thly—For the substitution of इयङ् and उयङ् in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here इययम् and उययम् ॥

5thly—For the sake of नुद् augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारी भामिति आह ॥

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 ordains the shortening of अण् vowels before क ॥ It refers to the anga-vowel, as कुमारिका ॥ But not here, कुमारी कलै स्पृहयति or कुमारीः कं सुखं = कुमारीकं ॥

And lastly for तत्त्वं or त् substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of ए into त् in the case of अप् before भ ॥ It refers to anga, as अग्निः ॥ But not here अग्भारः, for अप् here is not anga.

To sum up in Sanskrit : सन् सम्प्रसारणं दीर्घस्यैव ताताङ्यङुयङ्नुद् इत्यस्य तत्त्वे च अङ्गस्थैरधिकोऽर्थो प्रयोजनं ॥

The word अङ्गस्य is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्थाने योगः), but of mere relation-ship. Or अङ्गस्य may be considered as a mere prātipadika, without any case-affix. In the subsequent aphorisms, it should be read with proper case-affixes as the exigencies of each sūtra may require. Thus in अतो भित् ऐस् (VII. 1. 9) अङ्ग should be read in the ablative case : अकारान्ताद् अङ्गाद् भित् ऐस् ॥ The Genitive case has force of स्थानवर्षी in sūtras like हन्तेर्ज, where the whole of हन् is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अवयववर्षी in sūtras like कदुपधाया गोहः (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निमित्तनिमित्त सम्बन्धः in युयोरनाकौ (VII. 1. 1). Or the Genitive case in अङ्गस्य may be changed into any other case, as already shown.

हलः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, (अङ्गस्य सम्प्रसारणम् दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गावयवाद्ग्लो यदुत्तरं सम्प्रसारणं तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

2. The long vowel is substituted for a vocalised half-vowel अ, इ and उ at the end of a stem, when it is preceded by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words दीर्घ and अण् from VI. 3. 111, and सम्प्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हूतः from ह्ता, जीवः from ज्या, संश्रितः from श्र्या ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe उतः and उतवान् from वेत् ॥ Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?

Observe निरुक्तम्, here र is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निर् and therefore ङ is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe विद्मः, विचिंतः from व्यद् and व्यच्; here the vowel इ is in the middle of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, इ and उ substitutes of semivowels'? Observe तृतीयः ॥ Here वि has been vocalised into वृ, ऋ being substituted for इ before the affix तीव (V. 2. 55). The ऋ will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in तृतीय is an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini himself in sūtras like II. 1. 30 &c. The word अङ्ग should be repeated in this sūtra, first to qualify the word हल, and then to qualify the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

नामि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नामि, (अङ्गस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामीत्येतत्पृथग्बहुवचनम् आगतनुदकं गृह्यते ॥ तस्मिन्परतोङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

Kārikā—नामि दीर्घ आमि अस्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुद् भवेत् ।

वचनाद्यथ तस्मास्ति, नोपधायाथ चर्मणाम् ॥

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment नुद्).

Thus अग्नीनाम्, वादूनाम्, कन्तूनाम्, हर्षूनाम् ॥ The anuvritti of अङ् (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment नुद् (VII. 1. 54) in नाम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra; like VI.4.7. and the lengthening takes place after the addition of नुद् to the genitive affix आम् ॥ For if the lengthening took place before the addition of नुद्, there would be no occasion for नुद् which comes only after short stems.

न तिसृचतसृ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तिसृ, चतसृ, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्नामि दीर्घो न भवति ॥

4. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

As तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् ॥ The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final ऋ of these words is not changed to र before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact नुद् is added before scope is given to that rule, and thus the preceding rule VII. 1. 54 prevents the application of the subsequent rule VII. 2. 100.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये तिसृचतस्रोर्नामि परत उभयथा दृश्यते, दीर्घादीर्घश्च ॥

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नाम् ॥

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिसृण मध्यंदिने or तिसृणाम् मध्यंदिने ॥ So also चतसृणाम् and चतसृणाम् ॥

नृ च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्य नामि परानुभयथा भवति ॥

6. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As एवं नृणां नृपते, and एवं नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

नोपधायाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उपधायाः, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तस्याङ्गस्थोपधाया नामि परतो शीर्षो भवति ॥

7. In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चनृ + नाम् (VII. 1. 55) = पञ्चानृ + नाम् (VI. 4. 7) = पञ्चानाम् (VIII. 2. 7); सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, दशानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in नृ'? Observe चतुर्णाम् ॥ But not in चर्मणाम् where the affix is not नाम् but ञाम् without नृदृ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने, च, असंबुद्धौ (नोपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने च परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ नोपधाया शीर्षो भवति ॥

8. In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

As राजा, राजानौ, राजानः, राजानम्, राजानौ ॥ So also सामानि तिष्ठन्ति ॥ राजा was राजान्स्, the स् was elided by VI. 1. 68, and नृ by VIII. 2. 7. Why do we say 'in strong cases'? Observe राजानि (Loc-Sing); सामानि (Loc. Sing). Why do we say 'but not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे राजन् ! हे तक्षन् !

वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ष, पूर्वस्व, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षपूर्वस्याचो नोपधाया निगमविषये सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ वा शीर्षो भवति ॥

9. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in नृ, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Veda, when ष precedes such a vowel.

Thus स तक्षानं or तक्षन्, तिष्ठन्तमब्रवीत् । ऋधुक्षानं or ऋधुक्षानमिन्द्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'in the Veda'? In the secular literature we have तक्षा, तक्षानौ तक्षानः always.

सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ सान्त, महतः, संयोगस्य, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य संयोगस्य यो नकारः महतश्च तस्योपधाया शीर्षो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

10. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stemending in the conjunct consonant न्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus श्रेयान्, श्रेयांसां, श्रेयांसः, श्रेयांसे, पयांसि, यशांसि ॥ महन्—महान्, महान्तौ, महान्तः ॥ But हे श्रेयन्, हे महन् in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अप्तन्तृच्स्वसुनप्तनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत् होतृपोतृप्रशास्त्रणाम् ॥११॥ पदानि ॥ अप्. तृन्, तृच्, स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्, होतृ, पोतृ, प्रशास्त्रणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्य तृजन्तस्य स्वसृ नप्तृ नेष्टृ त्वष्टृ क्षत् होतृ पोतृ प्रशास्त्र इत्येतेषां चाङ्गानामुपधायां दीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो संसुद्धौ ॥

11. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative Singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by तृन् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्त्र ॥

Thus आपः तिष्ठति ॥ Some would have it even in compounds ; as बहाम्पि तडागानि ॥ The Samāsānta rule is not applied here, because it is *anitya*. If it be considered *nitya*, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. तच्च समासान्तो विधिरनित्य इति समासान्तो न क्रियते । नित्यमपि च तुममकृत्वा दीर्घत्वमिष्यते । तृन् । कर्त्तारो कटान् । वहितारौ जनापवासान् । कर्त्तारः । तृच् । कर्त्तारौ कटस्य । कर्त्तारः । कर्त्तारौ भारस्य । कर्त्तारः । स्वसृ । स्वसा । स्वसारौ । स्वसारः । नप्तृ । नप्ता । नप्तारौ । नप्तारः । नेष्टृ । नेष्टारौ । नेष्टारः । त्वष्टृ । त्वष्टारौ । त्वष्टारः । क्षत् । क्षत्तारौ । क्षत्तारः । होतृ । होतारौ । होतारः । पोतृ । पोतारौ । पोतारः । प्रशास्त्र । प्रशास्तारौ । प्रशास्तारः । नप्तादीनां महणमव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे विध्यर्थम् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । एवंभूतानामन्येषां संज्ञाशब्दानां दीर्घो मा भूति । पितरौ । पितरः । मातरौ । मातरः । असंसुद्धाविति किम् । हेकर्त्तः । हेस्वसः ॥

If the words नप्तृ &c. be considered as रुढि, not derived from any root, then their enumeration is here for the sake of Vidhi (injunction) ; if they be considered as derivative words formed by Uṇadi affixes, then their enumeration is for the sake of niyama (restriction), so that other words formed similarly are not to be governed by this rule. As पितरौ, पितरः, मातरौ, मातरः ॥ Why do we say 'not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे कर्त्तः, हे स्वसः ॥ In the above examples अर् is substituted for ऋ by VII. 3. 110.

इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णां शौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, हन्, पूष अर्यम्णां, शौ, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इन् हन् पूषन् अर्यमन् इत्येवमन्तानामङ्गानां शौ परत उपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

12. The penultimate vowel is lengthened before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥

According to the maxim (See VI. 4. 14 also) that “अन्, इन्, ऋन्, नन् महणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तं विधिं प्रयोजयन्ति”, the employment of इन् in this sūtra includes and means “words ending in the syllable इन्” ॥ As regards the rest (हन् &c.), the affix शि (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus हन् is a noun formed by the addition of

the affix **क्षिप्** to the root **हन्**; and the affix **Kvip** is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like "Brahma" &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words **पुषन्** and **अर्यमन्** are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix **क्षि** in their original state. They must be parts of a neuter compound, to admit this affix. Hence we have used words "when the stem ends in **हन्** &c."

Thus बहुवचनीनि and बहुवचनीणि । बहुवचनहाणि । बहुभूतहाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बहुअर्यमाणि ॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः । इह नूपायम्यापुपधायाः सावेव दीर्घो भवति नान्यत्र । इण्डिनौ । छत्रिणौ । वृषहणौ । पूषणौ । अर्यमणौ ॥

Though this result could have been obtained by VI. 4. 8, the special mention of these words shows that except in Accusative and Nom. Pl. the lengthening does not take place in other strong cases. As इण्डिनौ, छत्रिणौ, वृषहणौ, पूषणौ, अर्यमणौ ॥

Kārikā :—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about **हन्** &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to **सुट्** (sarvanāmas thāna) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix **क्षि** in particular, (i. e., make a yoga-bibhāga). By so doing, the form **भूतहाणि** (Loc. sin.) of the Achārya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if yoga-vibhaga be not made) then I rule that the anuvritti of **सुट्** being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to **क्षि** affix in general (without regarding it as a Sarvanāmasthāna affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimates, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of **हन्** is lengthened before the demonstrative affix **ञ** (in words like वृषहायते=वृषहा इव भाषयत, This refers to VII, 4. 25).

3. Or if the anuvritti of **सुट्** (Sarvanamasthana) be taken into this Sūtra, because of the context, then the mention of **क्षि** in this Sūtra, (would be redundant, because the word Sarvanāmasthāna includes it, so far as the strong cases are concerned) but it would find scope and utility in preventing the lengthening in those cases to which the context of Sarvanāmasthāna does not apply. That is, the Sarvanāmasthāna will be restricted with regard to **हन्** &c to the affix **क्षि** and not to **सुट्** affixes generally.

Note :—**क्षि** is the affix of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1. 20.) It is a Sarvanamasthana by I. 1. 42. But the word Sarvanamasthana may be read into this sūtra from the preceding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing **क्षि** in this ? The above *karika* answers this.

In the case of **हन्** ending words, the subsequent rule VI. 4. 15, which required the lengthening of the penultimate vowel before an affix having an indicative **क्** or **ङ्**, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (**ङि**) is वृषहनि, and भूतहनि ॥ How do you make this ? By splitting up the present sūtra into two parts, the first part being **हन् हन् नूपायम्यान्**, and the second being **क्षौ** ॥ It would then mean :—

(1) The penultimate vowel is lengthened, in strong cases only and no where else, when the stem ends in इन् or हन् or in पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥ (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case सि and no where else. These two restrictive rules therefore, would debar all other rules of penultimate lengthening which would otherwise have been applicable. But a rule which does not relate to *penultimate* vowel, is not debarred by this restriction, but does take effect. Thus वृषहायते, भूषहायते denominative verbs in वयङ् ॥

Or even though the Sarvanāmasthāna may be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to सि considered a Sarvanāmasthāna or a Neuter affix सि is the Sarvanāmasthāna affix of the Neuter: which has no other Sarvanāmasthāna, therefore, it is a general Niyama and not only a Sarvanāmasthāna or a Neuter niyama. Therefore in this niyama the word “नपुंसकस्य”—“of the Neuter”—is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sūtra would mean, the neuter stems in इन् &c are lengthened in सि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भूषहनि ब्राह्मणकुले (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भूषहानि in loc. sin. by force of VI. 4. 15); moreover, by so doing, there would arise this anomaly also, that words other than Neuter would also not be lengthened.

The force of the definition of Sarvanāmasthāna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanāmasthāna would apply to Neuter also.

सौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, च, (उपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सावसंबुद्धौ परत इहन्पूषार्यम्णाद्युपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus इण्डी, वृषहा, पूषा, अर्यमा ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7, and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. In the Vocative singular we have हे इण्डिन्, हे पूषन्, हे वृषहन् हे अर्यमन् ॥

अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असन्तस्य, च, अधातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतु अस इत्येवमन्तस्य अधातोर्लुपधायाः सावसंबुद्धौ परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

14. In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the consonant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

Thus भवान् (with डवत् Uṇ I. 63 from भा to shine), कृतवान् (with कवत्); गोमान् and यवमान् (with मवत्) ॥ The तुन् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the

vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be lengthened at all. **अस्** :—अ सुपयाः, सुब्रह्माः, सुभोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhātu'? Observe **विण्डमः** where **स्** belongs to the root **मस्** (**विण्डं मसते**), so also **चर्मवः** (**चर्म वस्ते**) ॥ The **अस्** having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever **अम्** or **इन्** or **अस्** or **मन्**, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning". (**अनिनस्मन् मशानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति**) ॥ The word **अन्त** in the sūtra indicates whatever *ends* in **अतु** whether when first enunciated (**उपदेश**), such as **उवतु**, **कवतु** &c, or which assumes the form **अतु** in grammatical inflection, such as **मतुष्** which in upadeśa ends in **अतुष्**, but becomes **अतु** in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have **हे गोमन्**, **हे सुपयः** this rule not applying there.

अनुनासिकस्य किश्लोः कृडिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकस्य, कि, श्लोः, कृडिति, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य उपधाया रीर्यो भवति क्विप्रत्यये परतो श्लारौ च कृडिति ॥

15. The penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix **कि**, and before an affix having an indicatory **क्** or **ङ्**, which begins with a consonant other than a semivowel or a nasal.

Thus **प्रशान्** and **प्रतान्** from the roots **शम्** and **तम्** by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a **शल्** consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As **शान्तः** (with **क्त**), **शान्तवान्** (with **कवतु**), **शान्त्वा** (with **क्त्वा**), and **शान्तिः** (with **क्तिन्**). These are all formed with **क्तिन्** affixes. As to **ङित्** affixes we have **शशान्तः** and **तन्तान्तः** formed by **तस्** 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots **शम्** and **तम्** ॥ **तस्** is **ङित्** by I. 2. 4. Why do we say 'ending in a Nasal'? Observe **भोदनपक्**, **पक्**, **पक्त्वान्** ॥ Why do we say 'before **क्लि** and **jhalâdi** affix'? Observe **गम्यते**, **रम्यते** ॥ Why do we say a **ङित्** or a **क्तिन्** affix? Observe **गन्ता** and **रन्ता** ॥

अङ्गानगमां सनि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, हन्, गमाम्. सनि, (वा दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तानामङ्गानां हनिगम्योश्च सनि श्लारौ परे वा रीर्यो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गमेरिङादेशस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The lengthening of the vowel takes place in the case of a stem ending in a vowel, as well as of **हन्** and **गम्**, when the Desiderative affix **सन्** being **jhalâdi** (i. e. not taking the augment **इद्**) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have :—**विधीषति**, **तुष्टूषति**, **चिकीर्षति**, **जिहीर्षति** (VII. 1. 100); of **हन्** and **गम्**, **जियांसति**, and **अधिशियांसते** ॥

Vārt:—The rule applies to that गम् which is the substitute of इद् (II. 4. 48) 'to study'. Therefore, not here, संजिगंसते वस्तो मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58) ; In the Veda we read स्वर्गे लोकं समजिगांसन्, where though गम् means 'to go' and is not, therefore, the substitute of इद्, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word अच् should not be added in the sūtra at all : which should be read as इनगमां सनि meaning "There is lengthening of the stem when the Desiderative सन् follows". This would apply of course, to vowel-ending stems, because the sentence would mean that, for there cannot be lengthening of a consonant. This will apply to गम् also, in this way :—"A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of गम् which is a substitute of the vowel-stem इ" In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vārtika.

तनोतेर्विभाषा ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनोतेरङ्गस्य सनि झलारौ विभाषा दीर्घो भवति ॥

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन् is optional, before the Desiderative सन्, when it does not take the augment इद् ॥

Thus तितांसति or तितंसति ॥ But in तितनिषति no alternative is allowed, as इद् is added to सन् by VII. 2. 49 Vārt: optionally.

क्रमश्च क्ति ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, च, क्ति, (झलि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम उपधाया विभाषा दीर्घो भवति त्त्वाप्रत्यये झलारौ परतः ॥

18. The penultimate of क्रम् is optionally lengthened, before the affix क्ता, when it is without the augment इद् ॥

Thus क्रन्त्वा or क्राम्त्वा ; but क्रमिन्त्वा only, with इद् augment. But when क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप्, the rule does not apply : as प्रक्रम्य, उपक्रम्य ॥ This is on the maxim अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोऽप्य् बाधते 'a bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supercedes even antaranga rule'.

च्छोः शृङ्गुनासिके च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्छोः, शृङ्, अनुनासिके, च, (किञ्जलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छ इत्येतस्य सनुक्तस्य वकारस्य च स्थाने यथासंख्यं वा ऊर् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, अनुनासिकारौ प्रत्यये परतः क्वौ झलारौ च कृडितिः ॥

19. For च्छ (including the augment लुक्) is substituted श्, and for च is substituted ऊर्, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before क्ति and jhalâdi डित् and कित् affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus प्रश्नः, विष्मः from प्रश्छ and विष्छ, with the affix नङ् (III. 3. 90) the च्छ being replaced by श् ॥ Similarly from the root सिञ् we have स्थोनः thus: सिञ् + न (Un III. 9). = सि + ऊ + न = स्थू + न = स्थोनः (VII. 3. 84). Here the ऊ is added to the stem prior to the scope being given to the guṇa rule of VII. 3. 86, otherwise the form would be सिञ् + न = सेञ् + न = से + ऊ + न ॥ Having thus added ऊ,

before scope could be given to the guṇa rule VII. 3. 86, we make sandhi of सि + ऊ = र्यू, because semivowel substitution is antaranga operation and of wider scope than guṇa, and the maxim of वार्णावाङ्मन्त्रो भवति has no scope here. "An operation which is taught in the Argādhikāra, and affects the anga or stem, possesses greater force than an operation which concerns a combination of letters (i. e. is taught in a sandhi rule)".

With क्ति we have चन्द्रमाश्च formed with क्तिप् (Uṇ II. 57) added to प्रच्छ, there is no vocalisation of the semivowel र, and there is lengthening of अ, and च्छ changed to च. So also गोविश्च ॥

Of the change of व into ऊ we have the following :—अक्षयूः, शिष्ययूः (दि + क्तिप् = दि + ऊ = यूः) ॥ Here the ऊ substitution is Bahiranga, and दि + ऊ = यू, the change of इ into य is antaranga, therefore on the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (a bahiranga is non-existent for the purposes of an antaranga); there should be no change of इ into य, for ऊ is non-existent. That maxim is however set aside by नाजानन्तर्ये बहिरङ्ग प्रवर्तते: "A bahiranga operation is not regarded as bahiranga, and consequently asiddha, when an antaranga operation is to take effect, which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else".

So also before a jhalādi affix; as प्रच्छ + क्त = पृष्टः, पृष्टवान् (क्तवत्), पृष्ट्वा (क्त्वा); here च्छ is changed to च, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and च changed to व by VIII. 2. 36.

So also व is changed to ऊ as, यूतः, यूतवान्, यूत्वा ॥

When the affixes are not क्तिन् or क्ति, the rule does not apply: as शुभ्याश्च, शुभिः ॥ Some do not read the anuvritti of क्तिन् and क्ति into this sūtra, and explain शुभ्याश्च and शुभिः by VI. 1. 131 : उ short being substituted for व of दिव् ॥

In "छशां व" (VIII. 2. 36) the letter छ should not be taken, because by the force of the present sūtra, च is ordained to come every where in the place of छ ॥

The indicatory इ in ऊइ is for the sake of distinguishing this ऊ in sūtras like एते धस्युइ सु (VI. 1. 89). In the sutra वाह ऊइ (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory इ ॥

ज्वरत्वरश्रिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वर, त्वर, श्रिवि, अवि, मयाम्, उपधायाः, च, (किङ्गलोः वस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वर स्वर श्रिवि अत्र मव इत्येतेषामङ्गानां वकारस्य उपधायाश्च स्थाने ऊदित्ययमारंशो भवति वयो परतो ऽनुनासिके झलादौ च कृडिति ॥

20. In ज्वर, त्वर् श्रिव्, अव, and मव्, before the above-mentioned affixes (क्वि, a Nasal or a jhalādi 'क्तिन्' or क्ति) there is the single substitution of ऊइ for the व् and the vowel preceding the final consonant.

Thus झः, झरो, झरः, झृतिः ॥ स्वरः—झः, तूरो, तुरः, तृतिः ॥ श्रिविः—भूः, भुरो, भुवः, भूतः, भूतवान्, भूतिः ॥ अवः—ऊः, उवो, उवः, ऊतिः ॥ मवः—मूः, मुवो, मुवः, मूतः, मूतवान्, मूतिः ॥ ऊवरस्वरो-
रुपधा वकारात् परा, भिद्य वमवां पूर्वा ॥

In ऊवर् and स्वर the ऊ replaces व् as well as the अ which follows व्; and in श्रिच्, अव् and मच् it replaces the व् and the vowel इ and अ which precede व् ॥ Another reading is सिच् ॥

राह्योपः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, लोपः, (किल्लोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादुत्तरयोश्छौलोपो भवति क्यो परतो झलावौ कृञिति च परतः ॥

21. After र् there is the elision of छ् and व् before 'कि' and jhalâdi 'कित्' and 'ङित्' affixes.

Thus from वृष्ठा—मूर्, वृरो, वुरः, मूर्तः मूर्तवान्, मूर्तिः, the त् of Nishṭhâ is not changed into न् by VII. 2. 57. So also from वृष्ठा we have मूर्, वृरो, वुरः, मूर्णः, मूर्णवान्, मूर्तिः ॥ So also the व् is elided, as from तूर्वा—मूर्, तुरो, तुरः, तूर्णः, तूर्णवान्, तूर्तिः ॥ धूर्वा—धुः, धुरो, धुरः, धूर्णः, धूर्णवान्, धूर्तिः ॥

असिद्धवदत्राऽऽ भात् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ असिद्धवत्, अत्र, आभात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिद्धवदित्ययमधिकारो यदित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्याम आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेस्तद् असिद्धवद्वेदितव्यम् ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ वुग्गुटावुवह्यणोः सिद्धौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The change, which a stem will undergo by the application of any of the rules from this sūtra upto VI. 4. 129, is to be considered as not to have taken effect, when we have to apply any other rule of this very section VI. 4. 23 to 129.

This is an adhikâra rule. The above translation is given according to Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kâsika the असिद्धवत् extends up to the end of the chapter. Dr. Ballantyne translates it thus :—"The rules, reckoning from this one to the end of the chapter, are called Abhiya, because the chapter ends with a series of rules dependant on the aphorism 'bhasya' VI. 4. 129. When that (i. e. one of the âbhiya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the same place for coming into operation as another âbhiya, which has already taken effect, that one which has taken effect, shall be regarded as not having taken effect".

The word आभात् means 'up to न' i. e. upto VI. 4. 129. in which last sūtra the word न occurs : i. e. in applying the rules taught upto VI. 4. 129. The word अत्र shows that the two rules must have the same आश्रय or place of operation, where their places of operation are different, they are not asiddha to each other. The word असिद्ध shows that an utsarga or general rule must take effect, as if existing in spite of a special rule, and that an 'âdeśa' or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in applying the special rule. Thus in forming एधि and शाधि (Imperative 2nd person)

ए is first substituted for अस् 'to be' by VI. 4. 119 : and वा for वास् by VI. 4. 35 and then is धि added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that धि is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of ह्रात् class. Now अस् and वास् end in a *hral* consonant, and can take धि, but their substitute ए and वा end in a vowel and not a consonant and should not take धि ॥ The present rule helps us here, and for the application of धि (VI. 4. 101) the substitution of ए for अस् or वा for वास् should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in आगहि (Vedic Imperative, वाप् being elided by II. 4. 73) and जहि from गम् and हन्, the nasal being elided in the case of गम्, VI. 4. 36 and ज being substituted for हन् (VI. 2. 36) we have the stems आग and ज, which ending in अ would require the elision of हि by VI. 4. 105. But since the change of ज &c is not regarded as having been accomplished, the elision of हि does not take place.

Why do we say आभात् 'up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by Abhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus अभाजि and रागः from भञ्ज् and रञ्ज् ॥ Here the nasals of rafj and bhañj have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes चञ् and चिञ् respectively, and we have the stems रञ्, and भञ् to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have Vṛiddhi of अ preceding the final consonant. Had the elision of the nasal been considered as non-effective for the purposes of VII. 2. 116, then अ could not have taken Vṛiddhi, as it would not then be उपधा or penultimate.

Why do we use the word अच in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus वा + वस् (क्लृप्) + अस् (वास् Acc. Pl.) = वपा + उस् + अस् (VI. 4. 131 vocalisation of व). If this उ substitute be considered as asiddha for the purposes of sūtra VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the आ of वा, because आ is not then followed by a vowel (उ being non-existent). उ however is not considered as asiddha, and आ being thus elided, we have पपुषः in पपुषः पश्य ॥ Similarly चि + वस् + अस् = चिचि + उस् + अस् ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute य for उ as चिच्युषः पश्य ॥ Similarly लू + वस् + अस् = लूलू + उस् + अस् = लूलुषः ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we change the ऊ of लू into उ by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of आ, or change of इ to य, or of ऊ to उ, takes place in reference to वस्, while the samprasāraṇa of व takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending अस् which makes the stem Bha. So they have not the same आश्रय ॥ Nor does the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे apply here, because the special maxim of Abhiya governs the sūtras of this section, so there cannot be the relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga among these sūtras, simultaneously with their being asiddha to each other.

Vart.—The substitute बुक् (VI. 4. 88), and युद् (VI. 4. 63) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 4. 77 teaching उवद् and VI. 4. 82, teaching ह् substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus भू—बभूव, बभूवतुः बभूवः with बुक्, and उपदिशीये, उपदिशीयाते, उपदिशीयिरे with युद् of VI. 4. 63. In the case of भू, when बुक् is added, there is not the addition of उवद्, and in the case of दीह्, when युद् is added, there is not यणदिश ॥

The आ in आभात् has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sūtras governed by भ ॥

आभलोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, न लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिति ममययुस्तुष्टमकारो गृह्यते तत उत्तरस्य नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. After न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa अम्), there is the elision of the following न ॥

Thus अनक्ति and मनक्ति from अञ्ज 'to anoint', and भञ्ज 'to break'. Thus अञ्ज् + अम् + तिप् = अनञ्ज् + ति (I. 1. 47) = अनञ्ज् + ति (VI. 4. 23) = अनक्ति ॥ So also हिनस्ति from हिसि (हिन्स्) 'to injure'. Why do we say 'after अ' and not merely 'after न', without the indicatory ह? Observe यज्ञानाम्, यज्ञानाम्, where the न of नाम् is not elided after the न of यज्ञ and यज्ञ, the lengthening of अ by VII. 3. 102 being sthānivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विमानाम् and प्रमानाम् (formed by विअ + नाम् and प्रअ + नाम्) also, the न of नाम् is not elided after अ of विअ ॥ For the अ of the sūtra is the *technical* अ the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters ह and न ॥ The prati-padokta maxim applies here. लक्षणप्रतिपक्षोक्तयोः पतिपक्षोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् ॥

अनिदितां हल उपधायाः कृडिति ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनदिताम्, हलः, उपधायाः, कृडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनदितामङ्गानां हलन्तानामुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति कृडिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अनदितां नलोप लङ्गिकम्प्योरुपतापघरीरविकारयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रञ्जेर्जी वृगरमणउपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चिजुणि च रञ्जरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रजकरजनरजः सूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

24. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न,—this न not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

Thus from सन्स् and ध्वन्स् are formed सस्तः and ध्वस्तः with क्त, सस्यते, ध्वस्यते with यक्, सनीसस्यते, रनीध्वस्यते with यङ् the नी being added by VII. 4. 84. But नन्यते and नानन्यते, the न् is not elided, the root being written in the Dhātupāṭha as हुणदि संश्रुद्धी, and न being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नीयते, ननीयते from नी which has a penulti-

mate nasal, but ends in a vowel. Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe नश्यते, नानश्यते ॥ Why do we say having an indicatory क or ङ? Observe क्षसनं, ध्वंसनं with स्युद् ॥

Vārt :—The roots लङ्ग (लङ्गि) and कम्प् (कपि) are exceptions, where meaning 'to feel pain or difficulty' and 'a disease of the body'. These, though exhibited in the Dhātupaṭha with an indicatory इ, are treated as exceptions to the rule of अनिङित् : thus विलङ्गित् and विकम्पित्, when not having the above meanings, we have विलङ्गितं and विकम्पितं ॥

Vārt :—The causative of the root रञ्ज, loses its nasal when meaning 'to hunt deer': as, रञ्जयति घृगान् 'he hunts the deer', but रञ्जयति वस्त्राणि 'he colors the clothes'.

Vārt :—रञ्ज loses its nasal before the affix चितुष्, as रागी ॥

Vārt :—The words रजकः, रजनम्, and रजः are formed from रञ्ज by the elision of the nasal.

दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जं शपि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दंश, सञ्ज, स्वञ्जाम्, शपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दंश सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषामङ्गानां शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंश्, संज् and स्वञ्ज् is elided before the vikaraṇa शप् of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus दशति, सजति and परिष्वजते for the change of the स् of स्वञ्ज् to ष see VIII. 3. 65

रञ्जश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रञ्जः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रञ्जश्च शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रञ्ज is also elided before शप् ॥

As रजति, रजतः, रजन्ति ॥ The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛtti of rañj only runs and not of dañs &c.

घञि च भावकरणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञि, च, भावकरणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकरणवाचिनि घञि परतो रञ्जोरुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

27. The penultimate nasal of रञ्ज् is elided before घञ्, when the word formed with it expresses a state or an instrument.

Thus रागः 'passion, color, or the coloring stuff'. Thus आशयौ रागः, विधिश्च रागः denote राव, while रञ्ज्यतेऽनेनिति रागः denotes instrument. The घञ् is added by III. 3. 121; and च् changed to क् by VII. 3. 52. But रङ्गः = रजन्ति, तस्मिन् 'a theatre';

स्यदो जवे ॥ २८ ॥ स्यदः, जवे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जवे ऽभिधेये स्यद् इति घञि निपात्यते । स्यदेर्नलोपो वृद्धपमावध ॥

28. The word स्यद् is formed by घञ् in the sense of 'speed'.

This word is derived from **स्यन्द्**, the nasal is elided, and the Vṛiddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the *ārdhadhātuka* affix **घञ्** causes here the elision of a portion of the root, viz of **न्** of **स्यन्द्**, yet rule I. 1. 4 does not apply here. That rule prohibits *Guṇa* and Vṛiddhi, only in case of **इक्** vowels, here the Vṛiddhi is prevented with regard to **ञ** ॥ The prevention of this Vṛiddhi is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus **गोस्यद्**: **अश्वस्यद्**: meaning "cow-speed," "horse-speed." but **तैलस्यन्द्**, and **घृतस्यन्द्**: meaning "dripping of oil or ghee".

अवोदैघौघप्रथयहिमथयाः ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अवोद्, एघ, ओघ, प्रथय, हिमथयाः वृत्तिः ॥ अवोद् एघ ओघप्रथय हिमथय इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ।

29. **अवोद्, एघ, ओघ, प्रथय, and हिमथय** are irregularly formed by the elision of **न** ॥

Thus **उन्द्**—**अव + उन्द् + घञ् = अवोद्**; **इन्ध् + घञ् = एघ**; the *guṇa* is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented *guṇa*. **उन्द् + मन् = ओघ** (*Uṇadi मन्*). **प्र + अथय + घञ् = प्रथय**: (The want of Vṛiddhi is the irregularity). So also **हिमथयः** ॥

नाञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अञ्चेः, पूजायाम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे नकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

30. The nasal of **अञ्च** is not elided when the meaning is to honor.

Thus **अञ्चिता अस्य गुरवः**, **अञ्चितमिव क्षिरो वहति ॥** The **इद्** augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of 'honoring', we have **उदन्तशुक्लं कुपात्** "the water was *drawn* from the well." Here the **इद्** is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

क्लि स्कान्दिस्यन्दोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लि, स्कन्दि, स्यन्दोः, (न लोपः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ क्लाम्रत्ये परतो स्कन्द् स्यन्द् इत्येतयोर्नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

31. **स्कन्द्** and **स्यन्द्** retain their nasal before the affix **क्ल** ॥

Thus **स्कन्त्वा**, and **स्यन्त्वा** or **स्यन्त्वा**, the **इद्** being added when **स्यन्द्** is considered as having an *indicatory ऊ* in the *dhātupāṭha*. When **इद्** is added, **क्ल** is no longer **क्लि** by virtue of the rule I. 2. 18, and elision would not take place, for no rule of elision would apply in that case.

जान्तनशां विभाषा ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान्त, नशाम्, विभाषा (न लोपः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जान्तानामङ्गानां नशे च क्लाम्रत्ये परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before **क्ल** in a root ending in **ज्** and in **नश्** ॥

Thus **इत्त्वा** or **रत्त्वा**, **भृत्त्वा** or **भत्त्वा**, **नष्टा** or **नेष्टा** See ॥ VII. 1. 60 for the augment **न्** in **नश्** ॥ When **इद्** comes, we have **नक्षिन्त्वा** ॥

भञ्जेश्च चिणि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्जेः, च, चिणि, (विभाषा न लोपः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्जेश्च चिणि परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो भवति ॥

33. The nasal may be optionally elided in भञ्ज before the third person Passive of the Aorist in चिण् (ई)

Thus अभञ्जि or अभञ्जि ॥ This is an aprāpta vibhāṣā, and teaches for the first time the elision of न in a certain contingency.

शास् इदङ्हलोः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शास्ः, इत्, अङ्, हलोः, (कङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शास् उपधाया इकारदेशो भवति अङि परसो हलासौ च कङिति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्वौ च शास् इत् भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्विप् प्रत्यये तस्यापि भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. Before the Aorist in अङ् and before an affix beginning with a consonant having an indicative क् or ङ्, there is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् ॥

Thus अन्वशिषत्, अन्वशिषताम् and अन्वशिषन्; so also शिष्टः (with क्त), शिष्टवान् (with क्तवत्), तौ शिष्टः वयं शिष्यः (with the tense-affixes तः and मः which are ङिन् by I. 2. 4). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say 'before the affixes of अ Aorist and consonant affixes'? Observe शासति, शाशासतु, शाशासुः ॥

Vart:—There is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् before the affix क्वि ॥ As आर्यशीः = आर्यान् शास्ति ॥ So also निवशीः ॥ The form is thus evolved, शास् + क्वि = शिस् + ० = शिर + ० = शीः (the short इ being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76.

The root शास् is that root which takes अङ् aorist; namely the second Adādi शास् (शासु अनुशिष्टौ), and not the Bhvādi and the first Adādi शास् (भाङ् शासु इच्छायाम्) ॥ Therefore not here आशास्ते, आशास्यमानः ॥

Vart:—But before क्विप्, this शास् also is changed, as आशीः, आशिषौ, आशिषः ॥ Or this is an irregular form indicated by the author in the word क्षियाशीः used in VIII. 2. 104.

शा हौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, हौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शासो हौ परतः शा इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. Before the Imperative affix हि, शा is substituted for शास् ॥

Thus अनुशाधि, प्रशाधि ॥ The हि is changed to धि by VI. 4. 101. See VI 4. 22. The anuvritti of उपधायाः is not here; so शा is substituted in the room of the full word शास् and not only for the penultimate vowel of शास् ॥ The anuvritti of क्तिन् and ङिन् also is not here. Therefore, when this हि is treated as पिन् (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a पिन् Sārvadhātuka is not ङिन् (I. 2. 4). Thus शाधि is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when धि is पिन् and consequently anudātta (III. 1. 4)

हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, जः, (हौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्द्धातोर्ज इत्ययमादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

36. ज is substituted for हन् before दि ॥

Thus जहि शङ्खन् ॥

अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि कृडिति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥
अनुदात्तोपदेश, घनति, तनोत्यादीनाम्, अनुनासिक लोपः, झलि, कृडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तोपदेशानामङ्गानां वनतेस्तनोत्यादीनां चानुनासिकलोपो भवति झलादौ कृडिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhâtupâtha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of घन and तन &c, is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicative क् or ड् ॥

Thus यमु gives us यस्वा (with त्त्वा), यतः (with क्त), यतवान् (with क्तवत्), यतिः (with क्तिन्), Similarly रमु gives us रस्वा, रतः, रतवान्, रतिः ॥ यम्, रम्, नम्, गम्, हन् and मन् which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accented in the Dhâtupâtha. So also of वन्: i. e. वतिः with क्तिन्; with क्तिच् the nasal is not elided as वन्ति; (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalâdi affixes व, retains न् as all those affixes take the augment इद् ॥ The तनादि roots belong to the eighth class. Thus ततः, ततवान्. The Tanâdi roots are ten in number, तन् सन्, क्षण्, क्षिण्, कृण्, वृण्, घृण्, वन्, मन् and कृम् ॥ Of these सन् takes long षा also (VI. 4. 45). क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्, कृण्—कृतः, कृतवान्; वृण्—वृतः, वृतवान्; घृण्—घृतः, घृतवान्; वन्—वतः, वतवान्; मन्—मतः, मतवान् ॥

Why do we say before a ङित् affix? Observe अतत, अतथा: (I. 2. 11 these affixes are ङित्) So also not in शान्तः, शान्तवान्, तान्तः, तान्तवान्, शान्तः, शान्तवान्, not being anudâtta in the Dhâtupâtha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥ If the affix does not begin with a jhal consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ If the affix is not कित् or ङित् the rule does not apply: as, यन्ता, यन्तव्यम्. Why do we say "anudâtta by upadesa"? So that the rule may apply to गम् root, as गतिः, but not to शम्, as शान्तः शान्तवान् ॥ For गतिः is formed by कित् affix and is accented with udâtta on the first, but it is a secondary udâtta and not of upadesa or dhâtupâtha, and does not prevent the elision of न् of गम् ॥ Similarly शम् is udâtta-upadesa though in शान्त it has become अनुशान्तः ॥ The former though taught in the Dhâtupâtha as udâtta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudâtta, and शम् is taught as udatta in the Dhâtupâtha, and no where else taught as anudâtta.

वा ल्यपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ल्यपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो वा भवति ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudâtta ending in a nasal, and घन and तनादि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix ल्यप् ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhāṣa. The option applies to roots ending in ण्. In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus प्रयत्य or प्रयम्य, प्ररत्य or प्ररम्य, प्रणत्य or प्रणम्य, आगत्य आगम्य, but no option in आहत्य, प्रमत्य, प्रवत्य, प्रक्षत्य ॥

न किञ्चि दीर्घश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, किञ्चि, दीर्घः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किञ्चि परतो ऽनुवाचोपदेशीनामनुनासिकलोपो दीर्घश्च न भवति ।

39. Before the affix किञ्च्, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i. e. anudāttopadeśa, ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि, do not lose their nasal before किञ्च्. Thus वन्ति, तन्ति, वन्ति ॥ The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided : that also is prohibited.

गमः कौ ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, कौ, (अनुनासिकलोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकलोप इति वर्तते । गमः कौ परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ऊङ् च गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. The nasal of गम् is always elided before कि ॥

Thus अङ्गन्तु, कलिङ्गन्तु, अध्वगन्तो हरयः ॥ The त् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vart :—It should be stated of गम् and the rest. The elision takes place here also संयत्, परीतत् ॥

Vart :—The nasal of गम् &c. is elided before ऊङ् : as, अग्नेयः, अग्नेयः ॥

विङ्गुनोरनुनासिकस्यात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विट्-वनोः, अनुनासिकस्य आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विटि वनो च प्रत्यये परतो ऽनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्याकार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विट् or वन्, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अङ्गाः, गोजाः, ऋतजाः, अद्रिजाः, गोषाः (e. g. गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा असि Rig V.), कूपखाः, शतखाः, सहस्रखाः, दधिक्राः, अग्नेया उन्नेतणाम् ॥ The affix विट् (which is totally elided) is added under III. 2. 67. The स of सन् is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 108. in गोषा ॥ With the affix वन् we have the following :—विजावा, अग्नेजावा (III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this sūtra shows that the limitation of anudāttopadeśa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of sūtra VI. 4. 37 does not apply here.

जनसनखनां सन्झलोः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खनाम् सन्-झलोः, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन सन खन इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सनि झलादौ क्ति झलादौ प्रत्यये परत आकार आदेशो भवति ।

42. The long आ is substituted for the final of जन्, सन् and खन् before the consonant beginning Desiderative affix सन्, and before any other affix beginning with a jhal consonant, which has an indicative क् or ङ् ॥

Thus जातः, जातवान्, जातिः, सातः, सातवान्, सातिः, सिषासति; खातः, खातवान्, खातिः॥ In जन् and खन् the Desiderative does not begin with a consonant, but takes the augment इद्, the न् is not therefore elided, as जिजनिषति, चिखनिषति ॥ In the case of the root सन्, the Desiderative takes इ, so we have two forms सिषासति and सिसनिषति (VII. 2. 49). The Desiderative has, therefore, been mentioned in the aphorism, only for the sake of the root सन् ॥

If the phrase सन्सलोः be taken to mean 'the Desiderative beginning with a consonant', then we should read the anuvṛitti of हलि कर्डिति from the preceding sūtras, to complete the sense of this; and if the phrase means "when the Desiderative of a jhalādi affix follows", then we should qualify the word Desiderative by the word jhal from the preceding sūtras. Or we may divide the sūtra into two (1) Before a कित् or डित् jhalādi affix long आ is the substitute of the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan'. (2) And so is the case, when the Desiderative affix follows, not having the augment इ, for then also the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan' is replaced by long आ ॥

The न् of the root सन् would have required elision by VI. 4. 37, because this verb belongs to Tanādi class, still the आ substitution taught in this sūtra takes place, by preference, on the maxim of विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (I. 4. 2). In fact, though in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22) one rule is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the operations of another rule, yet one rule *supersedes* another by the maxim of vipratishedha. That that maxim applies in this section also, is to be inferred from the employment of the term हल् in VI. 4. 66, which supersedes the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64, and substitutes instead the long ई ॥

ये विभाषा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, विभाषा, (जनसनखनाम् आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ द्विति प्रत्यये परतो जनसनखनामाकार आदेशो भवति विभाषा ।

43. There is optionally the substitution of long आ for the finals of जन्, सन् and खन् before an affix beginning with य and marked with an indicatory क् or ड् ॥

Thus जायते or अन्यते (with यक्) आजायते or अज्जन्यते (with यङ्) । So also सायते or सन्यते, सासायते, or संसन्यते, खायते, or खन्यते, चाखायते or चङ्खन्यते ॥ Before the vikaraṇa भ्यन् of the Fourth class, which is डित् according to I. 2. 4; the आ is *always* substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तनोतेर्यकि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेनोतेः, यकि, (विभाषा आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनोतेर्यकि परतो विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ।

44. The long आ may be optionally substituted for the final of तन् before the Passive characteristic यक् ॥

Thus तायते or तन्यते; but no option is allowed in तन्तन्यते with यङ् ॥

सनः किञ्चि लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनः, किञ्चि, लोपः,

च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरङ्गस्य किञ्चि प्रत्यये परत आकार आदेशो भवति लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ।

45. The long आ is optionally substituted for the final of सन् before the affix क्तिच्; and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms सार्तिः, सन्तिः and सतिः ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' has been employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness only; for the विभाषा of VI. 4. 43 could have been read into it by annvṛitti. Lest any one should doubt, that the annvṛitti of विभाषा had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्यतरस्याम् is employed here.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातु के ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकइत्यधिकारं न ल्यपीति प्रागेतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आर्द्धधातुकइत्येवं तदेदितव्यम् ।

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied "before an affix called ārdhadhātuka (III. 4. 114 &c)."

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 4. 69 (exclusive). In all the sūtras upto VI. 4. 68 should be supplied the phrase "before an affix called ārdhadhātuka". Thus VI. 4. 48 teaches "the अ standing at the end of a verbal stem is elided". To complete the sense we should add: "before an ārdhadhātuka affix". Thus the final अ of the verbal stem चिकीर्षि is elided before the ārdhātuka affix क्तिच्, as चिकीर्षितु, जिहीर्षितु, but the final अ is not elided before a sārva-dhātuka affix, as the अ of भव in भवति, भवतः ॥ The *luk*-elision of क्षप् after roots of भक्षदि class, implies that there is never *lopa* of क्षप् ॥

The following purposes are served by this sūtra, i. e. an ārdhātuka affix causes the following special changes (1) अतोऽलोपः— The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, (2) यलोपश्च, The elision of य by VI. 4. 49, 50: as बेभिक्षिता, बेभिक्षितुम्, बेभिक्षितव्यम् from बेभिक्ष the Intensive stem. Before Sārva-dhātuka, we have बेभिक्षते, चिच्छिक्षते ॥ (3) णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम्, The elision of णि by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हारणा पाच्यते (पाचि + यक् + ते = पाच् + य + ते), याज्यते ॥ In Sārva-dhātuka, पाचयति, याजयति, कारयति, हारयति ॥ (4) आलोपः, the elision of आ, VI. 4. 64— as पपतुः, पपुः, ववतुः ववुः, In Sārva-dhātuka, यान्ति, वान्ति (5) ईस्वम्— The substitution of long ई for आ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as धीयते, क्षीयते; in Sārva-dhātuka अद्याताम्, अधाताम् (6) एस्वम्— The substitution of ए for आ, VI. 4. 68; as स्नेयान्, श्लेयान्; in Sārva-dhātuka, स्नायान्, श्लायान् ॥ This is confined to the Precative (āsirlin). (7) चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुदि, the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in चिष्, by VI. 4. 62. as कारिषीष्ट, हारिषीष्ट ॥ In Sārva-dhātuka, क्रियत, द्वियेत ॥

Kāśikā:—अतो लोपो यलोपश्च णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम् ।

आलोप ईस्वमेत्वं च चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुदि ॥

अस्जो रोपधयोरमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि । अस्जः, र-उपधयोः, रम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्जो रेफस्योपधायाश्च रमन्यतरस्यां भवति ।

47. In the room of the **र** and the penultimate letter **स्** of the root **भ्रस्ज**, there is optionally the substitute **रम्**, when an *ârdhadhâtuka* affix follows.

The **र** and **स्** cease to exist and **र** takes their place. The substitute having an indicatory **स्** comes after the final vowel (I. 1. 49). Thus **भ्रस्ज + तृ = भर्ज + तृ = भर्ज** the **ज** being changed to **ष** by VIII. 2. 36, and **त** to **ट** by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be **भृष्ट**; so also **भृष्टम्** and **भर्तुम्**, **भृष्टव्यम्** and **भर्तव्यम्**, **भृज्जनम्** or **भर्ज्जनम्** ॥ But **भृष्टः** and **भृष्टवान्** by VI. 1. 16, in spite of this rule. The word **उपदेश** (VI. 4. 37). is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root **bhrasj** as originally taught in the *Dhatupāṭha*, and not to any Derivative root from it. 'As the Intensive (**यङ**) is **बभ्रीशृज्यते** ॥

अतो लोपः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लोपः, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धिर्वाभ्यामतो लोपः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

48. The **अ** standing at the end of a stem is elided before an *ârdhadhâtuka* affix.

Thus **चिकीर्षिता**, **चिकीर्षितुम्**, and **चिकीर्षितव्यम्**, from the Desiderative stem **चिकीर्ष** ॥ So also **धितुतः** and **कृणुतः** from the roots **धिन्** and **कृण्** thus, **धिन् + उ** (III. 1. 80) = **धित् + अ + उ** (III. 1. 80) = **धित् + उ** (**अ** being elided before the *ârdhâtuka* **उ**) = **धितु**, the 3rd Personal dual of it is **धितुतः** ॥ The addition of **अ** by III. 1. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present *sūtra*, may appear a redundancy, but the elided **अ** being *sthānivat*, prevents *guṇa* of **धि** ॥ So also **कृणुतः** ॥ See *sūtra* III. 1. 80. Why do we say "the **अ** is elided"? Observe **चेता**, **क्षोता** here **इ** and **उ** have not been elided. Why do we say "**अतः** with a **तृ**"? The long **आ** will not be elided: as **याता**, **वाता** ॥ Why do we say 'before an *Ardhadhâtuka*'? Before a *Sārvadhâtuka* there will be no elision of **अ** nor before a *Taddhita*: as **वृक्षस्वम्** and **वृक्षता** ॥

Vart:—The elision of such **अ** takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to *Vṛiddhi* and lengthening. As **चिकीर्षकः**, **जिहीर्षकः**, **चिकीर्ष्यते** and **जिहीर्ष्यते** ॥

यस्य हलः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य यशब्दस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

49. When a consonant precedes the final **य** in a verbal stem, this **य** is elided also before an *ârdhadhâtuka* affix.

Thus **बेभ्रिस्ता**, **बेभ्रितुम्**, **बेभ्रितव्यम्** from the Intensive stem **बेभ्रि** ॥ In the *sūtra* **यस्य** is given, which is the Genitive singular of **य** namely of the letters **य** **अ** ॥ By the rule of **अलोऽन्यस्य** (I. 1. 52), the **अ** of **य** ought to be elided

and not य् ; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of य् would have taken place by the preceding rule : the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य (ya). Or the word हलः may be considered as in the ablative case, and then by I. 1. 54, the first letter would be elided namely य् ॥ Why have we taken [the two letters (संचाल) conjointly viz.] य् and not य् ? Observe ईर्ष्यता, मव्यता, शुच्यता from the simple roots ईर्ष्य्, मव्य्, and शुच्य् ॥ Here य् not being followed by हल, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant ?' Observe लोल्यता, पोष्यता ॥

क्यस्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यस्य, विभाषा, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यस्य हल उत्तरस्य विभाषा लोपो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ।

50. The elision of य् of the Denominative stem (क्य) is optional, when preceded by a consonant and followed by an ārdhadhātuka affix.

The क्य denotes the affixes क्यच् and क्यङ् ॥ Thus समिधिता or समिधिता, क्यचित्ता or क्यक्षिता meaning समिधमात्मन इच्छति or समिध इवाचरति &c.

जेरनिदि ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जेः, अनिदि, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिदिनावाचर्द्धधातुके जेलोपो भवति ।

51. The इ of the verbal stem formed with the affix णि, is elided before an ārdhadhātuka affix which does not take the augment इद् ॥

This debars इयङ्, the semi-vowel य, the guṇa, Vṛiddhi and the long substitutions. Thus अततसन्, अरसन्, आधिसन्, आडितन्, कारणा, हारणा, कारकः, हारकः, कार्यते, हार्यते and क्षीप्सति (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say 'not having the augment इद् ?' Observe कारयिता and हारयिता ॥

निष्ठायां सेदि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, सेदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायां सेदि परतो जेलोपो भवति ।

52. The affix णि is elided before the affixes क् and क्वन्तु when these take the augment इद् ॥

Thus कारितम्, हारितम्, गणितम्, लक्षितम् ॥ Why do we say "before an ārdhadhātuka affix having the augment इद्" ? Observe संज्ञपितः पशुः ॥ This is the part participle of the causative, the इ being the sign of the causative. By VII. 2. 15 read with VII. 2. 49, ज्ञप् is a root which takes no इद् augment in the Nishṭhā. It may be objected that VII. 2. 15 preventing इद् augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative ज्ञपि being of two syllables will always have इद् in the Nishṭhā, and so it is useless to use the word सेदि in the sūtra. The word सेदि in the sūtra fixes the time when the elision of णि should take place. Namely, first there should be added the

augment इद् and *then*, there should take place the elision of जि ॥ Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कारि + त्, here let us elide the जि *first* : and we get कार् + त्, now we cannot add इद् to त्, for कार् being a verb of one syllable will not take इद् by VII. 2. 10. Therefore, the reverse process must be adopted, We must clide इद् *first*. For ज्ञपितः see also VII. 2. 27.

जनिता मन्त्रे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनिता, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनितेति मन्त्रविषये इडादौ णिलोपो निपास्यते ।

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly by the elision of जि before the affix त् with the augment इद् ॥

Thus यो नः पिता जनिता ॥ Otherwise जनयिता in secular literature. It is an exception to VI. 4. 51.

शमिता यज्ञे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमिता, यज्ञे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि शमितेति इडादौ णिलोपो निपास्यते ।

54. शमिता is formed irregularly by the elision of जि before an इद् augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus शृतं हविः शमितः ॥ It is formed by शृप् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See शृतं हविः शमयितः ॥ See Śatpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्ताल्वाय्येत्तन्विष्णुषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अय, आम्-अन्त-आलु-आय्य-इत्नु-इष्णुषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम् अन्त आलु आय्य इत्नु इष्णु इत्येतेषु परतो णेर्यादेशो भवति ।

55. अय् is substituted for the इ of जि, before the affixes आम्, अन्त, आलु, आय्य, इत्नु, and इष्णु ॥

Thus कारयां चकार, हारयां चकार, गण्डयन्तः, मण्डयन्तः (formed by the UṇAdi affix हाच्, हा = अन्त, added to the roots गंड and मंड) आलु । स्पृहयालुः । आय्य, स्पृहयाय्यः, गृहयाय्यः ॥ इत्नुः—स्तनायत्नुः ॥ इष्णुः—पोषयिष्णुः ॥ Thus sūtra could have been well dispensed with; for the इ of जि would take guṇa ए which will be changed to अच् by the rules of Sandhi, before these affixes. This substitution of अच् for इ is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra however, because there इ could not be changed to अच् by any sandhi-rules.

व्यपि लघुपूर्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यपि, लघु पूर्वात् (णेः अय ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यपि परतो लघुपूर्वादुत्तरस्य णेर्यादेशो भवति ।

56. अय् is substituted for the इ of जि, before the Absolutive affix व्यप्, when the vowel preceding the इ is light.

Thus प्रथमय्य गतः, संवमय्य गतः, प्रवेमिवय्य, प्रगजय्य ॥ But प्रपाय्य गतः the vowel preceding the इ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the

elision of **व** and the elision of **अ** should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus **वाच् + णिच् = वानि** ; this **वा** is shortened by VI. 4. 92, and we have **वानि** ॥ This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu pûrva, the present rule would not apply. Similarly **वेमिद्य** is the Intensive root, its **य** is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the **इ** of **मि** would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of **अ** in **गज** which is a root which ends in **अ**, (see Dhâtupâṭha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, ५५: ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप उक्तस्य जेत्थेपि परतो विभाषा ज्यावेसो भवति ॥

57. **अय्** is optionally substituted for the **इ** of **णि** before the affix **ल्यप्**, after the verb **आप्** ॥

Thus **प्राप्य** or **प्राप्य गतः** ॥ This however does not apply to the **आप्** substitute for **इह**, as **अप्याप्य गतः** (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Prati-padokta applies here.

युप्सुवोर्दीर्घछन्दसि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-प्सुवोः, दीर्घः, छन्दसि, (ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्सुस्येतथोर्ल्यपि परतच्छन्दसि विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

58. In **यु** and **प्सु**, long is substituted for **उ**, before **ल्यप्** in the Veda.

Thus **शान्यनुपूर्वे दिव्य** ; **यथा यो वसिष्ठा परिप्सूय ॥** Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe **संयुत्य**, **आप्सुत्य** in the secular literature.

क्षियः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, (दीर्घः ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियश्च दीर्घो भवति ल्यपि परतः ॥

59. A long is substituted for the **इ** of **क्षि** before **ल्यप्** ॥

As **प्रक्षीय**, **उपक्षीय ॥**

निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्. अ-ण्यदर्थे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यतः कृत्यस्यार्यो भावकर्मणी ताभ्यामन्यञ या निष्ठा तस्यां क्षियो दीर्घो भवति ।

60. A long is substituted for the **इ** of **क्षि** before the Participle in **क्**, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in **ण्यत्** ॥

The force of **ण्यत्** is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of **ण्यत्**, the vowel of **क्षि** is lengthened. Thus **आक्षीजः**, **प्रक्षीजः**, **परिक्षीजः** all used in the active sense. The **क्** is added to the Intransitive **क्षि** to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus **प्रक्षीणमिदं देवदत्तस्य** 'this is the spot where Devadatta perished'. Here **क्** is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say 'not having the force of

ष्यत् ?' Observe अक्षितमसिमानेक्षेष्टाः ॥ Here त is added with the force of condition, and akshitam means 'imperishable'. The vowel not being lengthened the त is not changed to न (VIII. 2. 46).

वा ऽऽक्रोशदैन्ययोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आक्रोश-दैन्ययोः (क्षियः दीर्घः विभाषा) वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोश गम्यमाने दैन्ये च क्षियो निष्ठायामप्यदर्थे वा क्षीर्यो भवति ॥

61. The long is optionally substituted, for the इ of क्षि, before the Past Participle क्त, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle ष्यत्, when the word means 'imprecation' or 'a miserable plight'.

Thus क्षितायुरेधि or क्षीणायुरेधि, क्षितकः or क्षीणकः, क्षितोयं तपस्वी, क्षीणोऽयं तपस्वी ॥ When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as क्षीणचन्द्रः ॥

स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेश ऽज्जनग्रहदशां वा चिण्वदिट् च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-सिच्-सीयुट्-तासि, भाव-कर्मणोः, उपदेशो, अच्-हन्-ग्रह-दशाम्, वा, चिण्वत्, इट्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्य सिच् सीयुट् तासि इत्येतेषु भावकर्मविषयेषु परत उपदेशो ऽज्जन्तानामङ्गानां हन् ग्रह इष्ट इत्येतेषां च चिण्वत्कार्यं भवति वा । दशा चिण्वत् तदा इडागमो भवति ।

62. Before the affixes स्य (First Future and Conditional), सिच् (S-Aorist), सीयुट् (Benedictive) and तासि (the Priph-rastic Future), when there are used in the Impersonal (भाव) and Passive (कर्म) Voices, (1) the verbal stems ending in a vowel in the Grammatical system of instruction (उपदेश), as well as the verbs (2) हन् (3) ग्रह् and (4) इष्ट are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण्व, and when so treated, they have the augment इट् ॥

The augment इट् is, of course, added to the affixes स्य, सिच्, सीयुट् and तासि and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atideśa aphorism ? They are given in the following verse :—

Kārikā चिण्वद् वृद्धिर्गुक् च हन्तेष्व षत्वं
दीर्घञोक्तो यो मितं वा चिणीति ।
इट् आसिञ्जस्तेन मे लुप्यते नि-
र्गल्यभावं बलनिमित्तोऽविधाती ॥

First :—The Vṛddhi takes place as in चिण्व (VII. 2. 116, VII. 3. 34), 'secondly, there is the addition of युक् augment (VII. 3. 33), thirdly च is substituted for the इ of हन् (VII. 3. 54), fourthly, the roots having indicatory

(Bhuādi 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4. 93), and lastly the addition of the augment इद् being considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect by VI. 4. 22, the rule VI. 4. 51 applies and the causative affix णि is elided : and this इद् is added irrespective of the conditions and limitations of VII. 2. 35 &c.

(1) Roots ending in a vowel in the Dhātupāṭha with the affix स्य as, चिः—चायिष्यत or चेप्यते, अचायिष्यत or अचेप्यत ॥ So also with हा, as, हायिष्यते or हास्यते, अहायिष्यत or अहास्यत ॥

In हानि there are three forms, the two हामिष्यते or हानिष्यते, अहामिष्यत and अहानिष्यत being given by the elision of the causative ending by VI. 4. 51, in spite of the इद् augment which is considered as asiddha : and हाम् being a root of निच् class, the अ is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms हामयिष्यते and अहामयिष्यत are given when not treated as चिण्, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix सिच्—अचायिषाताम् or अचेषाताम्, अहायिषाताम्, or अविषाताम् and अहामिषाताम् or अहानिषाताम् ॥ With the affix सीयुद्—चायिषीष्ट or चेपीष्ट, हायिषीष्ट or हासीष्ट and हामिषीष्ट or हानिषीष्ट ॥ With the affix तासिः—चायिता or चेता, हायिता or हाता, हामिता or हानिता ॥ The चिण् aorist model of these roots is अचायि, अहायि (VII. 3. 33), and अहानि (VII. 3. 34) or अहानि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) हन् :—Fut. हानिष्यते or हनिष्यते; Con. अहानिष्यत or अहनिष्यत, Aor. अहानिषाताम् or अवाधिषाताम् and अहसाताम् (II. 4. 44); Ben हानिषीष्ट or हनिषीष्ट ; Per. Fut. हानिता or हन्ता ॥ The चिण् model is अहानि ॥

(3) महः—Fut. माहिष्यते or महीष्यते Con. अमाहिष्यत or अमहीष्यत; Aor. अमाहिषाताम् or अमहीषाताम् (अमहिषाताम्) ? ; Ben. माहिषीष्ट or (महिषीष्ट) ? महीषीष्ट, Per. Fut. माहिता or महिता ॥ The lengthening of ही takes place by VII. 2. 37. The चिण् model is अमाहि ॥

(4) वृश् :—Fut. वृशिष्यते or वृश्यते, Con. अवृशिष्यत or अवृश्यत ; Aor. अवृशिषाताम् or अवृक्षाताम् ; Ben वृशिषीष्ट or वृक्षीष्ट ; Per. Fut. वृशिता or वृष्टा (वर्टा) ? ॥ The चिण् model is अवृशि ॥

Why do we say before स्य &c ? Observe चेतस्यम्, हातस्यम् ॥ Why in the Impersonal and Passive ? Observe चेष्यते and हास्यते ॥ Why in Upadeśa ? The rule applies to कारिष्यते also, though कार् (after guṇa change) ends in a consonant, but in its original enunciation it ends with a vowel. The atideśa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (aṅga), prevents the substitutions of हन् and इङ् and इण् ॥ Thus हानिष्यते, चानिष्यते, एष्यते or भायिष्यते, अभ्येष्यते or अप्यायिष्यते ॥ The substitutes वध or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as चिण् ॥

दीङो युडचि कृडिति ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीङः, युट्, अचि, कृडिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीङायुडागमो भवति अजादी कृडिति प्रत्यय परतः ॥

63. **युद्** is the augment after **दीङ्**, of an **ārdha-dhātuka** affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicative **क्** or **ङ्** ॥

Thus **उपदिशीये**, **उपदिशीयते** and **उपदिशीयिरे** ॥ The Personal ending is **क्विप्** by I. 2. 5. **दीङ्** being in the Ablative case, the augment is applied to the affix. This augment, however, is not to be considered as *asiddha* (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of semi-vowel substitution under VI. 4. 82. If that substitution were allowed, the augment would become useless. Why before an affix having **क्** or **ङ्**? Observe **उपशानम्** ॥

आतो लोप इटि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, लोपः, इटि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडाशवार्षधातुके कङिति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य लोपो भवति ॥

64. The final **आ** of a root is elided before an **ārdhadhātuka** affix with the augment **इद्** as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicative **क्** or **ङ्** ॥

Thus **पपिय** and **तत्स्थिय** ॥ Here the affix has the **इद्** augment. **पपतुः**, **पपुः**, **तत्स्थतुः**, **तत्स्थुः** ॥ Here the affixes are **क्विप्** by I. 2. 5 **गोर्**, **कम्बलर्** with the affix **क्** (III. 2. 3). So also **प्रसा** (fem), **प्रधा** (fem) by **अङ्** III. 3. 106. Before **Sārvadhātuka** affixes, we have **यान्ति**, **वान्ति**, **व्यस्यरे** and **व्यस्यले** ॥ The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of **य** and **ल** with the affix **इ** (**इद्**). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have **ग्लायते**, **वासीय** ॥

ईद्यति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकार आदेशो भवति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य यति परतः ॥

65. The final **आ** of a stem is changed into **ई** before the **Kṛit**-affix **यत्** ॥

Thus **देयम्**, **धेयम्**, **देयव**, and **स्तेयव** ॥ The **Guṇa** takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

धुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ धु, मा, स्था, गा, पा, जहाति साम, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानां मा स्था गा पा जहाति सा इत्येतेषां हलादौ कङिति प्रत्यये परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

66. For the final of the roots of the form of **दा** and **धा** (**धु**), as well as for that of the roots **मा**, **स्था**, **गा**, **पा**, **हा** (**जहाति**) and **सा** (**सो**), there is substituted **ई** before an **ārdhadhātuka** affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicative **क्** or **ङ्** ॥

Thus **रीयते**, **धीयते** with **यक्**, **देरीयते**, **देधीयते** with **यङ्** ॥ So also **मीयते**, **मेमीयते**, **स्थीयते**, **लेष्टीयते**, **गीयते**, **जगीयते**, **अध्यगीष्ट**, **अध्यगीषाताम्**, **अध्यगीषत**, **पीयते**, **पेपीयते**, **हीयते**, **जहीयते**, **अवरीयते**, **अवरोरीयते** ॥

The **पा** 'to protect' of **Adadi** (47) is not meant here. be come the

vikarana ण् is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पायते. It is Bhvādi षा 'to drink' that is taken here. So also हा-ञिहीते is not to be taken here. Its form is हायते ॥

Why do we say 'before a consonant'? Observe हवतुः, हतुः ॥ Here had हल् not been used in the sūtra, the आ of हा would be replaced by ई by the present sūtra, even before a vowel-affix अतु. ० उस् ; for the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this *subsequent* sūtra teaching ई substitution. In fact, the employment of the word हल् in the aphorism is a jñāpaka that the rule of vipratishedha (I.4.2) applies in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22), and the lopa of आ is *superseded* by the present rule substituting ई instead. So also हाता and धाता before non-किन् and non-ङिन् affixes.

एङिङि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, लिङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुमास्थागापाजहातिसामङ्गानां लिङि परत एकारादेशो भवति ॥

67. ए is substituted for the आ of the above roots in the Benedictive mood Active.

Thus हेयात्, मेयात्, धेयात्, स्थेयात्, गेयात्, पेयात् and अत्रसेयात् ॥ Before non-किन् and non-ङिन् we have णसीष्ट and णसीष्ट ॥ By the word लिङ् is here meant the आशीर्लिङ् or the Precative mood ; the Personal endings of which mood are ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116. More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasmaipada affixes only of the Benedictive are किन्, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmanepada affixes of the Precative.

वा अन्यस्य संयोगादेः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः, (लिङि) (आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्वादिभ्यो अन्यस्य संयोगादेराकारान्तस्य वा एकारादेशो भवति लिङि परतः ॥

68. For the final आ of any other root than those mentioned in VI. 4. 66, ए may optionally be substituted, in the Benedictive active, when the root begins with a conjunct consonant.

The ह्या was the only root of VI. 4. 66, which could have been affected by this rule. It has been, however, specially exempted by the word अन्यस्य ॥ Thus ग्लेयात् or ग्लयात्, ग्लेयात् or ग्लयात्, but only स्थेयात् (VI. 4. 66), and यायात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase किङ्कति is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus ग्लसीष्ट in Atmanepada. The root considered as an aṅga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वायात् (from निर् + वा), र् is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for र् is no part of the aṅga, but of the preposition.

न ल्यपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल्यपि, घुमास्थागापाजहातिसाम ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि प्रत्यये परतो घुनास्यागापाजहातिसां यदुक्तं तन्न ॥

69. The ई substitution for आ under rule VI. 4. 66, does not apply when the absolutive affix ल्यप् follows घु मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा and सा ॥

Thus प्रहाय, प्रधाय, प्रमाय, प्रस्थाय, प्रगाय, प्रपाय, प्रहाय and अवसाय ॥ The affix ल्यप् as the substitute of क्त्वा, is a कित् affix by I. 1. 56.

मयतेरिदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ मयतेः, इत्, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ल्यपि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मयतेरिकारादेशो वा भवति ॥

70. इ may optionally be substituted for the आ of मा, (मयति) before ल्यप् ॥

Thus अपमित्य or अपमाय्य ॥

लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, लङ्, लङ्क्षु, अट्, उदात्तः (अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङ् लङ् लङ् इत्येतेषु परतोऽस्याडागमो भवति, उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

71. अट् acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus अकार्षीत्, अहर्षीत्, अकरोत्, अहरत् and अकरष्यत्, अहरिष्यत् ॥

आडजादीनाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, अच्-आदीनाम्, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडागमो भवत्यजादीनां लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्षु परत उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

72. आट् acutely accented is the augment of a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus ऐषिष्ट, ऐक्षत्, ऐषिष्यत्, औज्जीत्, औज्जत्, औज्जिष्यत् ॥ ऐहिष्ट, ऐहत् and ऐहिष्य औग्मीत्, औग्मत्, and औग्मिष्यत् ॥ The Vriddhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (लङ्) of यञ्, वप् and वह् are ऐज्यत्, औप्यत् and औह्यत् formed by आट् and not अट् ॥ First, the affixes of the Imperfect are added and then the Passive characteristic यङ् is added to these roots, which causes the vocalisation of the semi-vowels, and we have इज्यत्, उप्यत्, and उह्यत् stems (VI. 1. 15). The stems having now assumed a form in which they begin with a vowel, take आट् ॥ The addition of tense-affixes being an antaranga operation precedes the addition of augment. After the affixes have been added, the vikaraṇa यङ्, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after यङ् addition the roots assume a form in which we can add आट् ॥ Why आट् is considered anitya depends on the following maxim:—शब्दान्तरस्य प्राप्नुवन् विधिरनित्यो भवति “when the word-form in reference to which a rule teaches something; after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously would be different from what it was before that other rule had taken effect, then the former rule is not nitya.”

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, दृश्यते, आद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये आडागमो दृश्यते । यत्र हि विहितस्ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ।

73. The आद् augment is found in the Veda also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आवः, आनक्, and आयुनक् ॥ आवः is the Aorist of वृम्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. आनक् from नष् (II. 4. 80), and आयुनक् is the Imperfect of युम् ॥

न माङ्योगे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, माङ्, योगे (लुङ् लङ् लङ्क्षु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्योगे लुङ्लङ्लङ्क्षु यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

74. In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अद् or आद् is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus मा भवान् कार्षीत्, मा भवान् हार्षीत्, मा स्म करोत्, मा स्म हरत्, मा भवानीहिष्ठा, भवानीक्षिप्त, मा स्म भवानीहत, मा स्म भवानीकृत ॥

बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, अ माङ् योगे, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माङ्योगेऽपि बहुलमाडादौ भवतः अमाङ्योगेऽपि न भवतः ॥

75. There is diversity in the Veda: the augment अद् or आद् is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा ॥

Thus in अनिष्ठा उषः (Rig X. 73. 1), काममृनयीत् (Rig I. 53. 3) and काममईयीत्; the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः क्षेत्रे परबीजान्यवाप्सुः, मा अभित्याः, मा आवः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

इरयो रे ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इरयोः, रे, (बहुलं छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इरे इत्येतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

76. रे is diversely substituted for इरे in the Veda.

Thus कं स्त्रिहर्मे प्रथमं वध्रे आपः (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्व परिदध्रे ॥ In वध्रे, the आ of धा is elided before the affix इरे by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of आ ॥ Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परमाया धियोग्निर्माणि चक्रिरे ॥ Here इद् augment is first added to रे after the सेद् roots and the affix thus becomes इरे, then रे is substituted again for this इरे by this sūtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—इरे—रे the sūtra has exhibited the word इरयोः in the dual number.

अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां व्योरियङुवङौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, श्नु, धातु, भ्रुवाम्, व्योः, इयङ्, उवङौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्याङ्गस्य धातोर्विर्णोवर्णान्तस्य भु इत्येतस्य इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवतो अचि परतः ॥ वाक्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ् प्रकरणे तन्वादीनां छन्दसि बहुलमुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of नु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of सू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आप्नुवन्ति, राध्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from roots of the 5th class. चिन्तियतुः छलुवतुः, हलुङ्, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भुवौ and भुवः ॥

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe आप्नुयात्, शक्नुयात्, राध्नुयात् ॥ Why "of नु &c."? Observe लक्ष्यै, लक्ष्याः, वक्ष्यै, वक्ष्याः ॥ Why "of इ and उ"? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः where the vowel is ऋ ॥

Vārt:—The Guṇa (VII. 3. 84) and Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of इयङ् and उवङ्: as from चि—चयनम् and चायकः, लू—लवनम् and लावकः, with स्युङ् and ण्वुल् ॥

Vārt:—In the Chhandas there is deversely the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in the case of तन् &c. Thus तन्वं पुषेम or तनुवं पुषेम ॥ त्रिषुवं पुषेम, स्वर्गो लोकः, सुवर्गो लोकः, त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे, त्रियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासस्य, अ, सवर्णे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्येवर्णोवर्णान्तस्यासवर्णे ऽचि परत इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवतः ॥

78. इयङ् and उवङ् are substituted for the इ and उ of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.

Thus इयेष, उवोष, इयर्त्ति, (VII. 4. 77) but ईषतुः and ईषुः ऊषतुः and ऊषुः before homogenous vowels and इयाय and उवाय before a non-vowel.

स्त्रियाः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, (अचि इयङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीइत्यतस्याज्ज्ञौ प्रत्यये परतः इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवति ॥

79. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्री, स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः; but स्त्रीणाम् the न् being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

वा ऽमशसोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अम्, शसोः (इयङ् स्त्रियाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमि शसि परतः स्त्रिया वा उयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशौ भवति ॥

80. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of स्त्री is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्री पश्य or स्त्रियं पश्य, स्त्रीः पश्य or स्त्रियः पश्यः ॥

इणो यण् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, यण्, (अङ्गस्य अचि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्गस्य अणादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

81. For the **इ** of the root **इण्** (एति) is substituted a semivowel (**य**), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus यन्ति, यन्तु, आयन् ॥ This supersedes इयङ् substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain Vṛiddhi and Guṇa: on the maxim मध्ये उपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् वाधन्ते, नोत्तरात् ॥ "Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them." So we have अयनम् and आयकः ॥

एरनेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अनेकाचः, अ संयोगपूर्वस्य, (धातोः अचिं प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोर्वचयः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्माद्विर्णाम् भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचोऽपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final **इ** or **ई** of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word धातोः is understood here, and the word संयोग is qualified by that: i. e. the **इ** or **ई** which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pūrva इ ॥ Thus निन्यतुः, निन्युः, उन्न्यौ, उन्न्यः, ग्रामण्यौ, ग्रामण्यः ॥ All the above examples are of the soot नी preceded by the gati prepositions नि and उन्, or a Kāraka-upapada ग्राम ॥ The rule will not apply however if the preceding word is neither a gati nor a Kāraka, but an adjective, as परमनी, its dual and plural will be परमनियौ and परमनियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say 'of इ or ई'? Observe लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः from लुलू which ending in ऊ takes उवङ् substitution. This is also shown in the next sūtra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe नी; its dual and plural are नियौ and नियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say the **इ** or **ई** should not be preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe यवक्त्री d. यवक्रियौ pl. यवक्रियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say "forming part of the root"? So that the rule may apply to उन्नी also. Here though ई is preceded by a conjunct न्, yet the latter is not part of the root, one न् being part of the upasarga उन् ॥ Thus we have उन्न्यौ and उन्न्यः ॥ The phrase असंयोगपूर्वं should in fact be taken as qualifying the letter ई, and not as qualifying the word अङ्ग ॥

ओः सुपि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, सुपि, (यण्, धातोः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाचः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वचयः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादुवर्णाम् भवति तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचो ऽजासौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel **व** is substituted for the final

ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper':—d. खलपू, pl. खलपः; so also शतस्वौ and शतस्वः, and सकृल्लू: dual सकृल्ल्वौ and सकृल्ल्वः ॥ But लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes, (non—सुप्); लू—लुवां, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only), and कटपू—कटपुवौ, कटपुवः (because ऊ is preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root). The rule does not apply if the first member is not a Gati or a Kāraka word: as परमलू:—परमलुवौ and परमलुवः ॥

वर्षाभ्वश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षा भवः, च, अचि सुपि यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाभू इत्येतस्याजासौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुनर्भवमेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

84. वृ is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभ्वौ, वर्षाभ्वः ॥ वर्षाभू 'what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.' This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

Vārt:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू; as हन्वौ, हन्वः, पुनर्भ्वौ, पुनर्भवः, कारभ्वौ (काराभ्वौ), कारभवः (काराभवः) ॥

न भूसुधियोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, सुधियोः, यण्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सुधी इत्येतयोर्यणादेशो न भवति ॥

85. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभू—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥ VI. 4. 77.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा, भूसुधियोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये भू सुधी इत्येतयोरुभयथा दृश्यते यण् ॥

86. In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in भू and सुधी, are found sometimes the इयङ्, उवङ् and sometimes the semivowel substitution.

As विश्वम्, विशुवम्, सुध्यः and सुधियः; वनेषु चिषं विश्वं विशो, विशो विशुवम्, सुध्यो हव्यमग्ने, सुधियो हव्यमग्ने ॥

हुइनुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुइनु वोः, सार्वधातु के, अङ्गस्य, अनेकाच्चः, असंयोग, पूर्वस्य, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्यानेकाच्चो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्याजासौ सार्वधातुके परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

87. The semi-vowel वृ is substituted for the उ of हु, and for that of नु (the characteristic of the fifth class roots),

before a sârvadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 113) beginning with a vowel, when the stem consists of more than one syllable and the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus हु—जुहति, जुहतु; अजुहन्, so also with सु—as सुनन्ति, सुनन्तु, असुनन् ॥ Why do we say “of हु and जु formed stems”? Observe योयुवति, योरुवति, from Intensive bases, by the elision of the यङ् affix. The यङ् is elided in the secular literature also, by the implication (jñâpaka) of this aphorism, for no counter-example can be formed of a root consisting of more than one syllable and ending in उ, not preceded by a conjunct consonant and followed by a Sârva-dhâtuka affix, unless the Intensive roots with the elision of यङ् be taken. Nor can we get examples from the Chhandas, for the preceding rule applies only to ârdhadhâtuka affixes. Why do we say before a Sârva-dhâtuka? Observe जुहवतुः, जुहुवुः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in आप्नुवन्ति and घप्नुवन्ति as the उ is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भुवो वुग्लुङ्लिटोः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, वुक्, लुङ्, लिटोः, अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुवो वुगागमो भवति लुङि लिटि षाज्ज्ञौ परतः ॥

88. भू gets the augment व् (वुक्) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अभूवन्, अभूवम्; बभूवः, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः ॥

ऊतुपधाया गोहः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊत्, उपधायाः, गोहः, अङ्गस्य, अचि, प्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोहो ऽङ्गस्य उपधाया ऊकारादेशो भवति अज्ज्ञौ प्रत्यये परतः ॥

89. For the penultimate ओ of the gunated stem गोह् (from गुह्), there is substituted ऊ before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus नि गूहति, निगूहकः, साधुनिगूहिन्, निगूहम्, निगूहन्ति, गूहो वर्तते ॥ Why do we say ‘penultimate’? So that the substitution should not apply any where else. The form गोह् is taken in the sūtra to prohibit the application of the rule to cases where गुह् does not assume the form गोह् ॥ Therefore not here, निजुगृह्णतुः, निजुगृह्णुः ॥ This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निगोहा, निगोटुम् ॥ Some say, the word is exhibited as गोह् in order to prohibit the अय् substitution of णि before ल्यप् ॥ As निग्राहि + ल्यप् = निगूह्य (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the ऊ substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in अय्, गूह् being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kāśikā the ऊ substitution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

दोषो णौ ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ दोषः, णौ, उतुपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दोष उपधाया ऊकार आदेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

90. The ओ of दोष् is replaced by ऊ before the causative णि ॥

Thus दूषयति, दूषयतः, दूषयन्ति ॥ Similar reasons as in गौह, may be given for the root दूष being exhibited as दोष् in the sūtra. When not followed by णि, we have दोषो वृत्ते ॥

वा चित्तविरागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, चित्त-विरागे, उदुपधायाः णौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तविकारार्थे दोष उपधाया वा ऊकारदेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

91. The ऊ substitution for the ओ of दोष् is optional, when the sense is that of the disturbing of the mind.

As चित्तं or प्रज्ञां दूषयति or दोषयति ॥ Otherwise साधनं दूषयति when mental agitation is not meant.

मितां ह्रस्वः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिताम्, ह्रस्वः, णौ, उपधायाः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मिता धातवो घटादयो मित इत्यवमारयो ये प्रतिपादितास्तेषामुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति णौ परतः ॥

92. The roots having an indicatory म्, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative णि ॥

The मित् roots are घटादि a subdivision of Bhwādi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अम् as क्षम् and तम् of Divādi class. Thus घटयति, व्यययति, जनयति, रजयति, क्षमयति, क्षपयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛtti of the word 'optional' from the last sūtra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavasthita-vibhāṣā). The forms उत्क्रामयति and संक्रामयति are thus explained.

93. Optionally a long may be substituted for the penultimate of the causative of मित् roots, before the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिष् (इ), and before the Absolute affix णमुञ् (अम्) ॥

चिष्णमुलोर्दीर्घोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिष्ण, णमुलोः, दीर्घः, अन्य-तरस्याम्, णौ, मितः उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिष्णरे णमुल्परं च णौ परतो मितामङ्गानामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Thus अक्षामि or अक्षामि, अतमि or अतामि with चिष्; and क्षमंक्षामम्, and क्षामंक्षामं; क्षमंतमम् or क्षामंतमम् with णमुल् ॥ Why have we used the word दीर्घ in the sūtra? The rule does not teach merely the *optional shortening*. So that in the alternative of short, we have अक्षामि and in the other alternative we have अक्षामि, so that there is long. For had दीर्घ not been used, it would have taught optional short only, i. e. it would be a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि only, and there will be this difficulty:—when the causative of causative is taken, as in क्षमयन्तं प्रमुञ्क्ते, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the lopa substitute of णि would be sthānivāt: therefore, the णि which would be followed by

चिन् or जङुल्, would not have in it the चिन्् anga, because the first जि intervenes between the चिन्् anga and the चिन् and जङुल् affix, and that जि which is preceded by a चिन्् anga is not followed by चिन् and जङुल्, because the second जि (though elided) intervenes. Therefore, there would not be *optional* short here, but *compulsory* short, by the preceding sūtra and no lengthening. The rule, therefore, teaches the optional substitution of the *long* (दीर्घ). For there arises no such anomaly in this view. For taking this rule to be a दीर्घविधि, the lopa-substitution of जि would *not* be sthānivat, by the express prohibition contained in I. 1. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि, then the lopa-adeśa of जि being sthānivat, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word दीर्घ is used in the sūtra to make this rule a दीर्घविधि, and prevent sthānivat-bhāva. Thus take the causative of चम्, which will be चामि by the last sūtra. Take its Intensive with चङ्, चामि + चङ् which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = चामि चामि + चङ् = चाचामि + चङ् (VII. 4. 60) = चां चामि + चङ् (चुक् or nasal being added to the abhyāsa by VII. 4. 85) = चाचामि + चङ् = चांचाम् + च (VI. 4. 51) = चांचाम्च. Add चिन् to this ie. make the causative of the Intensive. चांचाम् + च + चिन् ॥ Then the च् of च is elided by VI. 4. 48 = चांचाम् + च + चिन्. Then च् is elided by VI. 4. 49 = चांचाम् + चिन् = चांचामि ॥ This चांचामि is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative चम् ॥ Now add चिन् or जङुल् to this root; and we get two forms short and long अचांचामि or अचांचामि with चिन् and चांचाम् or चांचाम् with जङुल् ॥ The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a दीर्घविधि, for then the lopa-adeśa of चिन् being sthānivat would have prevented the application of दीर्घ ॥ The roots चम् and तम् (both Divādi) ending in च् do not ever lengthen the root vowel before चिन् and जङुल् by VII. 3. 34. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, चामि — चामयति, तामि — तामयति, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus चामि + चिन् = चाम् + चिन् (the च् of चिन् being elided by VI. 4. 51) = चामि or चामि (with the augment अ = अचामि or अचामि) ॥ This rule applies when the Causative of the Causative root takes these affixes. In fact the mention of the word दीर्घ implies as much, otherwise the sūtra could have been made without this word, for the word 'optionally' would have brought in both 'short' and 'long'. Thus in चामयन्तं प्रयुञ्जते 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add जि (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root चामि, as चामि + जि = चाम् + चिन् (VI. 4. 51) = चामि, the lopādeśa here is not sthānivat for the purposes of *lengthening* (दीर्घविधि) the च् of चाम् (I. 1. 58) ॥ From this चामि with चिन् we get अचामि, and with जङुल् we get चांचाम् ॥ But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopādeśa will then be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of the word दीर्घ in the sūtra. Thus the चिन् and जङुल् forms of the Causative of the Causative (i. e. the double Causative) of चम् are अचामि or अचामि; चामंचाम् or चामंचाम् and from the form चांचामयति, we have अचांचामि or अचांचामि, चांचामंचामम् or चांचामंचाम-

शामम् ॥ These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root. The sign बह् of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

अचि ह्रस्वः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, ह्रस्वः, (उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचिरे णो परतो ह्रस्वो भवत्यङ्गस्योपधायाः ॥

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix अच् ॥

Thus द्विषन्तः, परंतपः, पुरंदरः ॥ See III. 2. 29 and 41.

ह्लादो निष्ठायाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्लादः, निष्ठायाम्, (ह्रस्वः उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्लादो ऽङ्गस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति निष्ठायां परतः ॥

95. The penultimate of the Causative of हृद् (ह्रादि) is shortened before the Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु ॥

Thus प्रहृष्टः, प्रहृष्टवान्, but प्रहृष्टयति before non-nishṭhā. The rule applies also when क्तिन् follows as प्रहृष्टिः ॥ This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) ह्रावः (2) निष्ठायाम् ॥

छादेर्धे ऽद्व्युपसर्गस्य ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छादेः, धे, अ द्व्युपसर्गस्य, (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छादेरङ्गस्याद्व्युपसर्गस्य घप्रत्यये परत उपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अद्विप्रभ्युपसर्गस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

96. The penultimate of the Churādi छद् is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As उरदछद्, प्रच्छद्, एन्तच्छद् ॥ But समुपच्छाद् with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as सङ्गपातिच्छाद् ॥ The elision of णि of छादि &c., by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) or sthānavat (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no penultimate to be shortened.

Vartt:—The prohibition with regard to द्वि should be extended to numbers more than two.

इस्मन्त्रिक्विप् च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, मन्, त्रि, क्विप्, च, छादेः (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् मन् त्रि इत्येतेषु परतश्छादेरुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

97. The penultimate of छादि is shortened before the affixes इस्, मन्, त्रि and क्वि ॥

Thus छदिस्, छदमन् (neuter), छदम्, धामच्छन् and उपच्छन् ॥ The first three are Unādi affixes.

गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः कङित्यनङि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम, हन, जन, खन, घसाम्, लोपः, कङिति अनङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन जन खन घस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामुपधाया लोपो भवत्यङ्गो प्रत्यये कङित्यनङि परतः ॥

98. The root-vowel of गम्, हन्, जन्, खन्, and घस् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicative क् or ऊ्; but not before the Aorist affix अङ् ॥

Thus जग्मतुः, जग्धुः जज्ञतुः, जग्धुः, जज्ञ, जज्ञाति, जज्ञिरे, जघनतुः, जघधुः, जघतुः, जघ्धुः, अक्षममीदन्तापितरः, ॥ किङ्कतीक्रिम्, गगनम्, हननम्, ॥ अनङ्गीतिक्रिम्, अगमन्, अघसन्, ॥ अचीत्येव, गम्यते, हन्यते ॥

Why 'having indicative क् or ऊ्'? See गगनम्, हननम् ॥ Why 'not अङ्, ? See अगमन्, अघसन् ॥ Why 'beginning with a vowel, ? See गम्यते and हन्यते ॥

तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनि, पत्योः, छन्दसि, (कृडिति उपधायाः लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनि पति इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि विरये उपधाया लोपो भवति अजाशौ कृडिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

99. In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of तन् and पञ्च is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicative क् or ऊ् ॥

As विततिरे कवयः, शकुना इव पतिमः ॥ In secular language विततिरे, पेनिम् ॥

घसिमसोर्हलि च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ घसि, मसोः, हलि, च, (अचि कृडिति) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घसि मस इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि उपधाया लोपो भवति अजाशवजाशौ च कृडिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

100. The root-vowel of घस् and भस् is elided in the Chhandas, before any affix, whether beginning with a vowel or a consonant, which has an indicative क् or ऊ् ॥

Thus सग्धिश्चमे सपीतिश्च मे, बड्धांते हरी धानाः ॥ सग्धिः is thus derived : क्तिम् is added to the root अद्; then by II. 4. 39, घस् is substituted for अद्; thus घस् + ति = घस् + ति (अ being elided by the present sūtra) = घ + ति (स् being elided by VIII. 2. 26), then त् is changed to ध, and घ to ग and we have गिधः ॥ Then समाना गिधः = सग्धिः (समान changed to स VI. 3. 84). The word बड्धाम् is the Imperative of भस्, thus भस् + भ्लु + ताम् = भ भस् + ताम् = ब भस् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = बस् + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब ड् + धाम् = बड्धाम् ॥ This rule of elision being a nitya and a subsequent rule ought to have operated first, but, as a Vedic anomaly, the reduplication takes place first. See VII. 2. 67

Why do we read "before an affix beginning *also* with a consonant"? Because the elision takes place before a vowel affix also, as बप्सति = भस् + भ्लु + क्षि = ब भस् + क्षाति (VII. 1. 4) = बप्सति (VIII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicative क् or ऊ्? Observe अंग्गन् बभस्ति ॥ The च has been added into the aphorism by the Vārtikakāra.

हुश्चल्लभ्यो हेक्षिः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु-श्चल्लभ्योः, हेः, धिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्माद् झलन्तेभ्यश्चोत्तरस्य हलादेशः स्याने धिरादेशो भवति ।

101. After हु and after a consonant (with the exception of semi-vowels and nasals), धि is substituted for the

Imperative affix **हि**, when the latter does not take the augment **इट्** ॥

Thus **हु-हृदि**; **हान्** consonants; **भिद्-भिन्नि**, **छिद्-छिन्नि** ॥ But **प्रीणीहि**, **प्रीणीहि** (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why 'हि only'? Observe **शुहुताम्** ॥ Why do we read the anuvṛtti of **हलि** into this sūtra? When **हि** does not begin with a consonant, but with a vowel, i. e. when it takes the augment **इट्**, the rule does not apply. As **रुहिहि**, **स्वपिहि** ॥ In the case of **शुहुताम्**, **भिन्नाम्**, when **हि** is replaced by **ताम्** (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because **ताम्** is a later rule in the order of *Ashtādhyāyī*, and because **सकृन्नो विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितं न** "When two rules, while they apply simultaneously mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether". When **भक्त्** is added by V. 3. 71, **धि** substitution takes place, as **भिन्द्राकि**, **छिन्द्राकि** ॥ The maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् applies here:—'Occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had been previously superseded by a subsequent rule.'

भृशृणुपृकृवृभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृ-शृणु-पृ-कृ-वृ-भ्यः, छन्दसि, हेङिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ शृणु पृ कृ वृ इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य हेङिर्वादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

102. **धि** is substituted for **हि** in the Vedas, after **भृ**, **शृणु**, **पृ**, **कृ** and **वृ** ॥

As **भृधी** **हविभिन्**, **शृणुधी**, **गिरः**, **पृथि**, **उरुकुदुरुणस्कृ धि** and **भवावृधि**, ॥

In **शृणुधी**, the **हि** is not elided after the **उ** of **शृ** as it was required by VI. 4. 106, since the present aphorism specifically mentions it. The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. The forms other than **शृणुधि** are irregular; **वाप्** being added *diversely* by III. 1. 85, and then elided *diversely* by **बहुलं छन्दसि** II. 4. 73

अङितश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्-इत्, च, हेङिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङितश्च हेङिर्वादेशो भवति ॥

103. **धि** is substituted for **हि**, when the tense-affix is not **ङित्** ॥

Under III. 4. 88 **हि** is also **पित्** in the Vedas: and when it is **पित्**, it is not **ङित्** by I. 2. 4. Thus **रारन्धि**, **यन्धि** and **युयोधि** in the following **सोमरारन्धि** **अस्मभ्यं तत्पर्यम्** **प्रयन्धि**, **युयोध्यस्मञ्जं शुहुराणमेनः**

Why do we say 'when it is not **ङित्**'? Observe **प्रीणीहि** ॥ **रारन्धि** is irregularly *Parasmaipada* of **रव**; the **वाप्** being replaced by **इल्ल**, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The **वृ** is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not **ङित्** ॥ **प्रयान्धि** is from **यम**, the **वाप्** is elided: and **युयोधि** from **यु** (**योति**), the **वाप्** being replaced by **इल्ल** ॥

चिणो लुक् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिणः, लुक्, प्रत्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण उत्तरस्य प्रत्ययस्य वृत्तिर्भवति ॥

104. The personal-endings are elided after चिप्, the third person, singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अहारी, अलादि, अकारि, अपाचि ॥ So also अकारितणप्, अहारितणप्, here the elision of the personal affix त्त (III. 1. 60) of the Aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes तणप् and तणप् are not elided: though if the sūtra were to be literally interpreted, *every affix* after चिप्, ought to be elided. Or the word क्तिङिति is understood here; so that कित् and डित् affixes of चिप् are elided and not every affix.

अतो हेः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हेः, अकस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्वाहुत्तरस्य हेर्लुगभवति ॥

105. The Imperative affix हि is elided after a stem ending in short अ ॥

Thus पच, पठ, गच्छ, धाव ॥ But पुहि, रुहि after stems ending in इ. Why do we say “short अ”? Observe लुनीहि, पुनीहि (लुना + हि, the ई substitution by VI. 4. 113, should be considered *asiddha*), here हि is not elided after the long आ ॥

उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, च, प्रत्ययात्, असंयोग पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारो यो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तात्प्रत्ययाहुत्तरस्य हेर्लुगभवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उतश्च प्रत्ययादित्थञ्च छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यं ॥

106 The Imperative हि is elided after the उ of an affix, in the vikaraṇa with which the Present-stem (special conjugation) is made, provided that the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

The affix उ with which the Present-stem is made is उ and हु ॥ Thus चिनु, सुनु, कुरु ॥ Why after ‘उ’? Observe लुनीहि, सुनीहि ॥ Why do we say “उ being part of the vikaraṇa or affix”? Observe रुहि, पुहि, here उ is part of the *root* itself, and not of the vikaraṇa. Why do we say ‘not preceded by a conjunct consonant,’? Observe प्राप्नुहि, राप्नुहि, तश्नुहि ॥

Vart:—The elision of हि after the उ of the vikaraṇa उ and हु is optional in the Vedas; as आतनुहि यातुधानान्, धिनुहि यत्पतिम्, तेन मा भागिनं कृणुहि ॥

लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां म्योः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, च, अस्, अन्यतरस्याम्, मयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमुकारो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यान्यतरस्यां लोपो भवति ॥

107. The उ of the vikaraṇa उ and हु, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म् or च् ॥

Thus सुन्वः or सुनुवः, सुन्मः, सुनुमः, तन्वः, तनुवः, तन्मः, तनुमः ॥ The उ must be-

long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in युवः, पुनः ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe षक्नुवः, षक्नुमः only. Though the elision word लुक् was understood in this sūtra, the mention of लोप् indicates that the *final* is only to be elided, and not the whole affix लु ॥ It is a general maxim that the words लृक्, इलु and लुप् cause the elision of the *whole* affix, while 'lopa' will cause elision of the final letter only of the affix. If the whole affix be elided, we could not get चुन्वः &c., Moreover, in कुर्व and कुर्म formed by guṇa of कृ, there would have been no guṇa, had the word लुक् been used, for I. 1. 63, would have prevented guṇa; but by using the word लोप् we have such guṇa also by I. 1. 62.

नित्यं करोतेः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, करोतेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेरुत्तरस्य उकारप्रत्ययस्य वकारमकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

108. The elision of उ is invariable before व and म in the case of कृ (करोति).

Thus कुर्वः and कुर्मः ॥ Thus कृ+उ+वः=कृर्+उ+वः (VI. 4. 110)=कृर्+०+वः (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopa being not sthānivat, when a vowel is to be lengthened (I. 1. 58), उ of कृ should be lengthened by VIII. 2. 77. This contingency is prevented by VIII. 2. 79.

ये च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, लोपः नित्यं करोतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारादौ च प्रत्यये परतः करोतेरुत्तरस्योकारप्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

109. The affix उ of the stem कुरु is always elided before a personal ending beginning with a य ॥

Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम् and कुर्युः ॥ The augment यासुद् is treated here as an affix, and it makes the personal ending to which it is added, as an affix beginning with य ॥

अत उत्सार्वधातुके ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उत्, सार्वधातु के, कङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारप्रत्ययान्तस्य करोतेरुत्तरस्य स्थाने उकार आदेशो भवति सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ।

110. Before a Sârvadhâtuka affix with an indicatory क् or क्, short उ is substituted for the अ of कृ (कर्+उ) when gunated.

Thus कृ+उ+तस्=कर्+उ+तस् (VII. 3. 84)=कृर्+उ+तस्=कुरुतः (VI. 4. 110) The तस् is ङिन् by I. 2. 4. So also कुर्वन्ति, कर्ह ॥ Why do we say 'before a Sârvadhâtuka'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sârvadhâtuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुरु where the personal ending ङि is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The त् in उन् shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not क्रिन् or ङिन् we have करोति, करोषि and कराम (I. 2. 4).

इनसोरल्लोपः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन-असोः, अन्-लोपः, सार्वधातुके कङिति ॥

वृत्तिः । अस्यास्तथाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ।

111. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङिन् affix, the अ of आ and अस् is elided.

इन् is the characteristic of the roots of the Rudhâdi class, while अस् is the root itself. Thus रुन्धः; रुन्धाति, भिन्तः, भिन्न्ति; So also of अस्:—स्तः, सन्ति ॥ But भिननि and अस्ति before non-किन् and non-ङिन् affixes. इन् + अस् ought to be इनास्, instead of that we have इन्स् in the sūtra. The पररूप single substitution is an irregularity.

इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इना-अभ्यस्तयोः, आतः, लोपः सार्वधातुके कङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ इत्येतस्याभ्यस्तानां चाङ्गानामाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ।

112. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङिन् affix beginning with a vowel, the long आ of आ (the vikaraṇa of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनत; मिमते, मिमताम्, अमिमत, संजिहते, संजिहताम् and समजिहत ॥ Why do we say 'of इना and the reduplicates'? Observe वान्ति, वाप्ति ॥ Why 'of long आ'? Observe विभ्रति ॥ Why 'before किन् and ङिन्'? Observe अलुनान्, अजहान् ॥

ई हल्यधोः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, हलि, अ-धो (इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः सार्वधातुके कङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आन्तानामङ्गानामभ्यस्तानां च पुनर्जितानामात ईकारादेशो भवति हलादौ सार्वधातुके कङिति परतः ॥

113. Before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङिन् affix beginning with a consonant, the आ of आ and of the reduplicate stems is replaced by ई, except when the root is दा or धा (घु) ॥

Thus लुनीतः, पुनीतः, लुनीयः, पुनीयः, लुनीते and पुनीते ॥ Of reduplicates we have मिमीते, मिमीषे, मिमीध्वे, संजिहीते, संजिहीषे, संजिहीध्वे ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe लुनन्ति, मिमते ॥ Why with the exception of घु? Observe दत्तः, धत्तः ॥ So also लुनाति and जहाति before non-किन् and non-ङिन् affixes.

इहरिद्रस्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, हरिद्रस्य, (हलिसार्वधातुके कङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरिद्रातेर्हलादौ सार्वधातुके कङिति परत ईकारादेशो भवति ।

बार्त्तिकम् ॥ हरिद्रातेरार्धधातुके लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सिद्धश्च प्रत्ययविधौ भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā ॥ न हरिद्रायके लोपो हरिद्राण्ये च नेष्यते ।

विहरिद्रासतीत्येके विहरिद्रिषतीति वा ॥

वा० ॥ अद्यतन्यां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

114. इ is substituted for the आ of हरिद्रा before a Sârvadhâtuka किन् or ङिन् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus हरिद्रितः, हरिद्रिषः, हरिद्रिषः, हरिद्रिमः ॥ But हरिद्रिति before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and हरिद्राति before a non-ङिन् affix.

Vart:—The final of हरिद्वा is elided before an Ārdhahātuka affix.

Vart:—And this elision should be considered as siddha, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus हरिद्वा by loosing वा becomes हरिद्, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like 'daridr', and not what would have come after a form like 'daridrā'. Thus ण comes after roots ending in long वा (III. 1. 141): but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix अच् (III. 1. 134). Thus हरिद्वांत = हरिद्: ॥

Kārikā:—The elision does not take place in the forms हरिद्वायक् and हरिद्वाण, and the Desiderative may be either विहरिद्वासति or विहरिद्वांसति ॥ Sid-dhānta Kaumudī gives the following rule: "वा of हरिद्वा should be considered as elided when applying an Ārdhahātuka affix, but optionally so before लुङ् (Aorist), and not at all before सन् (Desiderative), ण्युल् and ल्युट्" ॥

Vart:—Optionally so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, अवरिद्वात् or अवरिद्वासीत् ॥ The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of तिच् ॥ The form हरिद्वास्व in the sūtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from हरिद्वा to हरिद् ॥

भियो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इतहलि कङिति सार्वधातु के) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्याङ्गस्थान्वतरस्याभिकारादेशो भवति इलाहौ कङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

115. इ is optionally substituted for the ई of भी before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus बिभितः or बिभीतः, बिभियः or बिभीयः, बिभिवः or बिभीवः, बिभिमः or बिभीमः ॥ But बिभ्यति before a vowel-beginning affix and बिभिति before a non-ङिन् affix and भीयते before an Ārdhahātuka affix.

जहातेभ्य ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, (इ हलि अन्यतरस्याम् कङितिसार्वधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेभ्य इकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां इलाहौ कङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

116. इ is optionally substituted for the आ of हा (जहाति) before a Sārvadhātuka किन् or ङिन् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus जहितः or जहीतः (VI. 4. 113) जहियः or जहीयः (VI. 4. 113). But जहति before a vowel affix, and जहाति before a non-ङिन् affix, and हीयते and जिहीयते before an Ārdhahātuka. The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च हौ ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, च, हौ, (इ अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेराकारान्तादेशो भवति इकारान्वतरस्यां हौ परतः ॥

117. आ as well as इ may optionally be substituted for the final of the stem of हा before the Imperative ending हि ॥

Thus जहाहि, बाहिहि or जहीहि (VI. 4. 113).

लोपो यि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, यि, (जहातेः सार्वधातुके कृडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोपो भवति जहातेर्यकारादेशे कृडिति सार्वधातुके परतः ।

118. The final of the stem of हा is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix.

Thus जह्यान्, जहाताम् and जह्युः ॥

ध्वसोरेद्धावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धु-असोः, एत्, हौ, अभ्यास-लोपः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धुसंसृक्तानामङ्गानामस्तेष्वेकारादेशो भवति ही परतो ऽभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

119. For the final vowel of the roots दा and धा (घु), and for the स् of अस्, is substituted ए before the Imperative ending हि; and thereby the reduplicated syllable of दा and धा is elided.

Thus देहि, and धेहि, of घु, and एधि of अस्, the स being elided by this sūtra, and अ being elided by VI. 4. 111. This लोप of the present sūtra should be considered as having an indicatory घु so that the *whole* of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyāsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकहल्मध्ये ऽनादेशादेर्लिटि ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हल्, मध्ये, अनादेशादेः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृडित्प्रतिवर्तते ॥ लिटि परत आदेश आरिष्यत्याङ्गस्य नास्ति, तस्य एकहल्मध्ये, असहाययोर्हलोर्मध्ये यो ऽकारस्तस्य एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इमेरेत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ नक्षिमन्योरलित्येत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ छन्दस्यमिपचोरप्यलिटि एत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यजिवप्योश्च ॥

120. ए is substituted for the short अ standing between two simple consonants of a verbal stem, before the personal endings of the Perfect which have an indicatory कृ (I. 2. 5), provided that, at the beginning of the root, in the reduplication, no other consonant has been substituted; and when this ए is substituted, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus रेणुतुः, रेणुः, येमतुः, येष्टुः, पेचतुः, पेचुः, हेमतुः, हेष्टुः ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe सिद्धिवतुः, सिद्धिवुः the इ is not replaced. Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe रासे, रासाते, रासिरे ॥ Why do we say 'standing between two simple consonants'? Observe ररक्षतुः, ररक्षुः ॥ Some say this example is not appropriate, for by I. 2. 5, the Perfect affixes are not कित् here, as they come after a conjunct consonant. The following is then more appropriate:—तत्स्रतुः and तत्स्रहः ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe चक्रणतुः, चक्रणुः, जगणतुः, जगणुः, बभणतुः, बभणुः ॥

The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नेमत्; नेष्टु; सेहे and सेहस्ते, सेहिरे though जम् and बह् are the roots, and ञ् and ष् are changed to न and स ॥ The substitution of जञ् consonant or a चर् consonant in the reduplicate, should not be here considered asiddha (VIII. 4. 54, read with VIII. 2. 1). That substitution will be considered a substitution for the purposes of this sūtra and will make the stem आदिशादिः, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of फल् and भञ् (VI. 4. 122). If the form of the letter is not changed in the reduplicate, by substitution, then such substitution will not make the stem आदिशादिः ॥ Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a चर् letter (च, ट, क, प, घ, ष, स) is substituted for a consonant (other than a nasal and a semi-vowel) in the reduplicate.

Thus in पञ्च the reduplicate is पपञ्च, the first प is also a *substitute*, for the चर् substitute of प will be प ॥ Such substitutes, however, are not meant here.

This we learn from the implication (jñāpaka) of sūtra VI. 4. 126 where exception is made in case of शस् and इद् ॥ Therefore, where the substitute is a *different* letter, then the reduplicate becomes ādeśādi: otherwise not.

When the affixes are not कित् or डित् the rule does not apply: as अहं पपञ्च, अहं पपठ ॥

Vārt:—ए is substituted for the अ of इम्भ under similar circumstances:—thus वेभत्, वेष्टुः ॥ The elision of the nasal by VI. 4. 24, would be considered asiddha by VI. 4. 22, hence this vārtika.

Vārt:—ए is substituted for the अ of नश्च and मन before affixes other than those of लिट् ॥ As अनेशम्, मेनका ॥ अनेशम् is the Aorist in अङ् of नश्च which belongs to Pushādi roots (III. 1. 55). मेनका is formed by जुञ् (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives अनेशन् (3 rd Pl.), and quotes अनेशन्नस्येपवः ॥

Vārt:—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the अ of अम् and पञ्च before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as व्यमानम्, (वि + अम् + चानश्च, the augment युक् being dropped); पचिरन् instead of पचेरन्, the Imperfect of पञ्च ॥ The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vārt:—So also of यञ्च and वप, as आयेजे and आवेजे the Imperfect Vedic forms. The augment आद् being added by VI. 4. 73.

यलि च सेटि ॥१२१॥ पदानि ॥ यलि, च, सेटि, (अत एक हल् मध्ये अनादेशादेः) वृत्तिः ॥ यलि च सेटि परतो ऽनविशादिरङ्गस्य एकहल्मध्यगतस्यातः स्थाने एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यास-लोपश्च ॥

121. ए is substituted for अ, of a verbal stem standing between two simple consonants, the stem not having any different letter substituted in the reduplicate, when the ending यल् of the Perfect having the augment इद् follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus ऐचिय, होकिय ॥ But एच्य before अणि य ; हि हेविय, the vowel being इ and not अ ; ततसिय, रसिय, the अ not standing between two *simple* consonants ; and चकणिय, बभणिय, the reduplicate having the substitutes च and ब different from क and म ॥ This sūtra applies even when the affix is not कित् ; and यल् is read in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take इद् except यल् ॥

तुफलभजत्रपञ्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, फल, भज, त्रपः, च, (अत एक हलमध्ये अनादेशादेर्लिटिथलिचसेटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु फल भज त्रप इत्येतेषामङ्गानामत एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च, लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

शार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्येष्वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of तु, फल, भज and त्रप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्) follow, as well as when यल् with the इद् augment follows.

Thus तेरतुः, तेरुः, तेरिय, फेलतुः, फेलुः, फेलिय, भेजतु, भेजुः, भेजिय, बेपे, बेपाते, बेपिरे ॥ In the case of तु the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल् and भज् the rule, that no different substitute should be in the reduplicate, is not adhered to, and in त्रप the अ does not stand between two *simple* consonants.

Vārt: It should be stated that the rule applies to अन्य also:-as, भ्रेयतुः, भ्रेयुः ॥

राधो हिंसायाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधो हिंसायामर्थेऽप्यर्णस्य एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

123. ए is substituted for the आ of राध when meaning 'to hurt some one', and the reduplicate is elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्), as well as before यल् with the इद् augment.

Thus अपरेधतुः, अपरेधुः, अपरेधिय, but राधतुः, राधुः, राधिय in any other sense than that of 'hurting'. In this sūtra the *long* आ of राध is to be replaced by ए, the anuvṛitti of short अ (अतः VI. 4. 120) is therefore not appropriate here. We should either read the anuvṛitti of आ from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकहलमध्ये in this way "in राध् *whatever* stands between two *simple* consonants is replaced by ए".

वा जृभ्रमुत्रसाम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जृ, भ्रमु, त्रसाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जृ भ्रमु त्रस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतः स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

124. ए is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर् (जृ), भ्रम्, and त्रस्, and the reduplicate is thereby elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or झ्), as well as before the थल् with the augment इट् ॥

Thus जरतुः, जरुः, जेरिय, or जजरतुः, जजरुः, जजरिय, भ्रमतुः, भ्रमुः, भ्रमिय, or बभ्र मतुः, बभ्रमुः, बभ्रमिय, वेसतुः, वेसुः, वेसिय, or तत्रसतुः, तत्रसुः, तत्रसिय ॥

फणां च सप्तानाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ फणाम्, च, सप्तानाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फणादीनां सप्तानां धातूनामवर्णस्य स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परत, स्थलि च सेटि ॥

125. ए is optionally substituted for the अ and आ of the seven roots फण्, राज्, भ्राज्, भ्राग्, भ्लाश्, स्यम् and स्वन् ; and the reduplicate is elided thereby, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or झ्) as well as before the थल् with the इट् augment.

Thus फेणतुः, फेणुः, फेणिय or पफणतुः, पफणुः, पफणिय; रेजतुः, रेजुः, रेजिय, or राजतुः, राजुः, राजिय; भेजे, भेजाते, भजिरे, or बभ्राजे, बभ्राजाते, बभ्राजिरे; भेषे, भेषाते, भेषिरे, or बभ्राषे, बभ्राषाते, बभ्राषिरे; भ्लेरे, भ्लेराते, भ्लेशिरे, or बभ्लाषे, बभ्लाषाते, बभ्लाषिरे; स्यमतुः, स्यमुः, स्यमिय, or सस्यमतुः, सस्यमुः, सस्यमिय; स्वेनतुः, स्वेनुः, स्वेनिय, or सस्वनतुः, सस्वनुः, सस्वनिय, Why of 'seven'? Observe, इध्वनतुः, इध्वनुः, इध्वनिय ॥ The Phaṇādi is a subdivision of Bhuādi (873-879)

न शसददवादिगुणानाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, शस, दद, वादि, गुणानाम्, (अत एक हल्मध्येऽनादेशादर्लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शस इव इत्येतयोर्वकापदीनां च धातूनां गुण इत्येवमभिनिर्वृत्तस्य च योकारस्तस्य स्थाने एकारादेशो न भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

126. ए is not substituted for the अ of शस्, दद्, or of roots beginning with a च, or of such verbal stems in which the अ results through the substitution of Guṇa, though the affixes of the Perfect being कित् or ङित् follow, or the set् थल्, nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विशाशतुः, विशाशमुः, विशाशसिये, इवदे, इवशाते, इवशिर, Of roots beginning with च्-चवमतुः, चवमुः, चवमिय, ॥ Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशाशतुः, विशाशरुः, विशाशरिय, लुलविय, पुपविय ॥ गुणशब्दाभिनिर्वृत्तस्यार्शब्दस्योकारस्य चायमकार इति एवं प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the गुण of क् as कृ changed to कर् or of ङ changed to भो again changed to अद् as लु—लव ॥

अर्वणस्त्रसावन्जः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्वणः, तृ, असौ, अनजः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्वणित्येतस्याङ्गस्यत इत्ययमादेशो भवति, सुष्ठेत्ततः परे न भवति, स च नञ् उत्तरो न भवति ॥

127. **तृ** (which is changed to **न्त** in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in **ई** unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem **अर्वन्**, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is **तृ**, the **न्त** is for the sake of making this affix an **उगिन्**, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have **तृ** augment VII. 1. 70. Thus **अर्वन्तौ**, **अर्वन्तः**, **अर्वन्तम्**, **अर्वन्तौ**, **अर्वन्तः**, **अर्वन्ता**, **अर्वन्त्याम्**, **अर्वन्ति**, **अर्वन्ती**, **अर्वन्तम्** ॥ **असाविति** **किम्**, **अर्वा** ॥ **अनम्** इति **किम्**, **अनर्वाणौ**, **अनर्वाणः**, **अनर्वाणं** **वृषभं** **मन्द्रजिह्वम्** ॥

But **अर्वा** in the Nominative Sing. and **अनर्वाणौ**, **अनर्वाणः**, **अनर्वाणं** **वृषभं** **मन्द्रजिह्वम्** with the Negative Particle **नस्** ॥

मघवा बहुलम् ॥ १५८ ॥ **पदानि** ॥ **मघवा**, **बहुलम्**, (**तृ**) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ **मघवन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्य बहुलं तृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति** ॥

128. **तृ** is diversely substituted for the final of **मघवन्** ॥

As **मघवान्**, **मघवन्तौ**, **मघवन्तः**, **मघवन्तम्**, **मघवन्तौ**, **मघवन्तः**, **मघवन्ता**, **मघवन्ती**, **माघवन्तम्**, ॥ **न च** **भवति**, **मघवा**, **मघवानौ**, **मघवानः**, **मघवानम्**, **मघवानौ**, **मघोनः**, **मघोना**, **मघवन्त्याम्**, **मघवभिः** **मघोनी**, **माघवन्तम्** ॥

भस्य ॥ १५९ ॥ **पदानि** ॥ **भस्य** ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ **भस्येत्ययमाधिकारः**, **आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः**, **यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामी** **भस्येत्येवं तद्वदितव्यम्** ॥

129. Whatever will be taught in the following upto the end of the Adhyāya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19).

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 130 says 'पद् is the substitute of पाद्' ॥ It means पद् is substituted for पाद् when the latter gets the designation of **भ** ॥ Thus **द्विपदः** **पद्व**, **द्विपदा** **कृतम्** but **द्विपादौ**, **द्विपादः** where the affixes are those of Sarvanāmasthāna.

पादः पत् ॥ १३० ॥ **पादः**, **पत्** ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ **पादिति पादशब्दो लुप्ताकारो गृह्यते** ॥ **तदन्तस्थाङ्गस्य भस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति** ॥ **स च पाच्छब्दस्यैव भवति** ॥

130. For **पाद्** is substituted **पद्** when the former is Bha.

The substitute replaces the whole form **पाद्** and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥ Thus **द्विपदः** **पद्व**, **द्विपदा**, **द्विपदे**, **द्विपदिकां** इति (V. 4. 1), **त्रिपदिकां** इति, **वैयाघ्रपथः** ॥

वसोः संप्रसारणम् ॥ १३१ ॥ **पदानि** ॥ **वसोः**, **सम्प्रसारणम्** ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ **वसन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं भवति** ॥

131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विदुषः पद्म, विदुषा, विदुषे, पेचुषः पद्म, पेचुषा, पेचुषे, ययुषः पद्म ॥ For the purposes of the elision of भा (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sūtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus पा + वसु (III. 2. 107) = पपा + वस् = पपा + उस् + वस् (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if उ were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we can not apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of भा, but the samprasāraṇa is not considered asiddha, and we have पप् + उस् + वस् = पपुषः पद्म ॥ In the nominative, where the stem is not भ, we have पपा + वस् + स् = पपी + वस् + स् (VI. 4. 66) = पपीवान् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix वसु is included in वसु for the purposes of samprasāraṇa.

वाह ऊर् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ऊर् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाह इत्येवमन्तस्य मस्य ऊर् इत्येतत्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

132. The व् in वाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊर्), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाह is a णिब formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus प्रद्यौहः, प्रद्यौहा, प्रद्यौहे, द्वित्यौहः, द्वित्यौहा, द्वित्यौहे ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + भा (of वा) = ऊ; and then प्रद्य + ऊर् = प्रद्यौह; the Vṛiddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus: प्रद्य + वह् + वस् = प्रद्य + उर् + वस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रद्य + ओह् + वस् (the affix णिब III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = प्रद्यौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact णिब is never added to वह (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in भ and that भ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊर्, indicates the existence of following maxim: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation: therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

इवयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इव, युव, मघोनाम्, अतद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन् युवन् मघवन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतद्धिते प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

133. The व् of इवन्, युवन् and मघवन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus शुनः, शुना, शुने, घृनः, घृना, घृने, मघोनः, मघोना, मघोने ॥ But शौवनं मांसम् शौवनं वर्तते, माघवनः स्थालीपाकः with Taddhita affixes. शौवन is formed by अङ् affix (IV. 3. 154) and औ being added by VII. 3. 4 as अन् belongs to dvārādi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in न्, but not when they become feminine or do not end in न्, as युवतीः पद्म, मघवतः, मघवते, मघवता ॥ The word जनः of the next sūtra, in a way, qualifies this sūtra also.

अल्लोपोऽनः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्, लोपः, अनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्येवमन्तस्य अस्य अकारलोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनो नकारान्तस्यायं लोप इष्यते ॥

134. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

As राज्ञः पश्य, राज्ञा, राज्ञे, तक्षणः पश्य, तक्षणा and तक्षणे ॥ *Vart.*—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in न्, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम् ॥

षपूर्वहन्धृतराक्षामणि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष पूर्व, हन्, धृतराक्षाम्, अणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारपूर्वो या ऽन् हनो धृतराक्षश्च तस्याकारलोपो भवति ॥

135. Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन्, the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus गौक्षणः, ताक्षणः, धौनघ्नः, धार्तराक्षः ॥ But सामनः, वैमनः ॥ Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षण्यः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

विभाषा छिद्योः ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छि, द्योः (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वौ परतः शीघ्रञ्चे च अनो विभाषा अकारलोपो भवति ॥

136. In a stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As राक्षि or राज्ञि, साम्नि or सामनि, साम्नी or सामनी (VII. 1. 19).

न संयोगाद्धमन्तात् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संयोगात्, च्, म्, अन्तात्, (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारमकारान्तात्संयोगादुत्तरस्यानो ऽकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

137. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in चन् or मन् with a consonant preceding च् or म् ॥

Thus पर्वणा, पर्वणे, अयर्वणा, अयर्वणे, चर्मणा and चर्मणे ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe प्रतिशीघ्रा, प्रातर्शीघ्रे, साम्ना, साम्ने ॥ Why do we say 'stems in चन् and मन्'? Observe तक्षणा, and तक्षणे ॥

अचः ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, (भस्य अल्लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच इत्ययमञ्चतिर्लुप्तनकारोऽपृश्यते । तदन्तस्य अस्य अकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

138. The अ of अच् (अञ्च्) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus इधीचः पद्म, इधीचा, इधीचे, मधूचः पद्म, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and न् of अञ्च् is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद् ईत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्ः, ईत्, (अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् उत्तरस्याच्च ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

139. Long ई is substituted for the अ of अच् (अञ्च्), after the word उत् when the stem is Bha.

As उरीचः, उरीचा, उरीचे ॥

आतो धातोः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, धातोः, (भस्य लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्य धातोर्भस्य लोपो भवति ॥

140. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कीललपः पद्म, कीललपा, कीललपे, शुभंयः पद्म, शुभंया, and शुभंये from कीललपा and शुभंया ॥ Why do we say 'the आ of a root'? Observe खट्वाः पद्म, मालाः पद्म ॥ This sūtra should be divided into two (1) आतः (2) धातोः ; so that the long आ in general may be elided. For Pāṇini himself has declined त्त्वा and द्ना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (त्त्वो ल्यप्) and III. 1. 83, (भ्नः शानच्) ॥

मन्त्रेष्वङ्यादेरात्मनः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रेषु, आङि, आदेः, आत्मनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रेषु आङि परत आत्मन आदेशलोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङान्यत्रापि छन्दसि लोपो दृश्यते ॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of आत्मन् is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आङ् is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus स्मना देवेभ्यः, स्मना सांमेषु ॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आत्मनो कृतम् ॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? यदात्मन स्तन्नो परिष्ठा ॥

Vārt:—The elision of आ of 'ātman' is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as स्मन्यासमञ्जत मह्यम् ॥

ति विशतेर्दिङि ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, विशतेः, डिङि, (भस्य, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य विशतेस्तिशब्दस्य डिङि प्रत्यये परतो लापो भवति ॥

142. Of the Bha stem विशति, before an affix having an indicative ड, the ति is elided.

Thus विशकः = विशत्या क्रीतः (with ड्ङुन् V. 1. 24), विशं शानम्, (विशतेः पूरणो विशः, with डट् affix V. 2. 43), एकां विशः ॥ Why do we say 'having an indicative ड'? Observe विशत्या ॥

टेः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ टेः, (डिति, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टिसंज्ञकस्य डिति प्रत्ययेपरतो लोपो भवति ॥

143. Before an affix having an indicatory इ, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided.

Thus कुमुदन्, नडुन् and वतस्वन् with इमत्तुप् (IV. 2. 87). So also निघता क्रीतः = निघाकः with डुवुन् of V. 1. 24. The rule applies even to non-bha bases, for effect must be given to the indicatory ड ॥ Thus उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः (III. 2. 97 with the krit affix ड) ॥

नस्तद्धिते ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, तद्धिते, (भस्य, टेः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य भस्य टेलोपो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सन्नञ्चारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुयुमितैतिलिआजलिलालिलिखण्डिङ्-कारसप्तपुर्वनामुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अइमनो विकार उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ चर्मणः कोश उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ शुनः संकोच उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अव्ययानां च सायंप्रातिकार्यमुपसंख्यानम् ॥

144. Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus आग्निर्धर्मः, औडुलोमिः, सारलोमिः from आग्निधर्मन्, उडुलोमन्, and सारलोमन् with the Taddhita affix इष्ट (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe सात्वतः ॥ Why 'before a Taddhita affix'? Observe चर्मणा, चर्मणे ॥

Vart :—The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following: 1. सन्नञ्चारिन्—सन्नञ्चारः (IV. 3. 120), 2. पीठ-सर्पिन्—पैठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120), 3. कलापिन्—कालपाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4. कुयुमिन्—कौयुमाः (IV. 3. 101), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116), 6. आजलिन्—आजलाः (IV. 2. 59), 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः, 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः, 10. सुकरसधन्—सौकर सधाः, 11. सुपर्वन्—सौपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI. 4. 164, and those in अन् contradict VI. 4. 167.

Vart :—अइमन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with': as, आइमः, otherwise आइमनः ॥

Vart :—Of चर्मन्, the अन् is elided when meaning 'a sheath or purse': as, चार्मः कोशः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise चार्मणः ॥

Vart :—The अन् of अन् is elided when the sense is 'to contract', as शौवः संकोचः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शौवनः ॥

Vart :—The Indeclinables like सायंप्रातिकः &c are formed by the टि elision: as सायंप्रातिकः, पौनः पुनिकः, बाह्यः, क्रीतस्कुतः (formed by इष्ट IV. 3. 11). But not before the affixes ल्यु and ल्युल्, as आरातीयः, शाश्वतिकः ॥ Pāṇini himself has shown the exception, in the case of शाश्वतिक, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also शाश्वतम् ॥

अहृष्टखोरेव ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, द, खोः, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहमित्येतस्य टखोरेव परतटिलोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहः सशूहे खा वक्तव्यः ॥

145. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट् and ख् II

Thus हे अहनी समाहूते = ह्यहः, इयहः (V. 4. 91 with टच्). हे अहनी अधीष्टा भूतं भूता भावी वा = ह्यहीनः, इयहीनः (with ख् V. 1. 87).

Vārt.—ख् is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ट् and ख्, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule : अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with डच् V. 1. 79). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ट् and ख्, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvan, before ख्, in VI. 4. 169.

ओर्गुणः ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

146. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाभ्रव्यः from बभू, माण्डव्यः from मण्डु, बाह्व्यः बाह् (from बाहु), पिचव्यः कार्पासः, (from पिचु) कमण्डलव्यः मृत्तिका (from कमण्डलू), परशव्यमयः, औषगवः, कापटवः &c. Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरात् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, anitya, and we have forms like स्वायंभुवः from स्वयंभू without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

ढे लोपो ऽकट्वाः ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढे, लोपः, अ, कट्वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढे परत उवर्णान्तस्य भस्याकट्वा लोपो भवति ॥

147. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढ), but not of the stem 'Katrī'.

Thus कामण्डलेयः, रैतिवहिण्यः, जाम्बेयः, माद्ववाहिण्यः, लुत काट्ठेयो मन्थमपश्यत् ॥

यस्येति च ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, ईति, च, (भस्य, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्तस्यावर्णान्तस्य च भस्य ईकारे परं तद्धिते च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यस्यैत्योऽङ् इयां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ्भ्यां लोपो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

148. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus राक्षी, श्लाक्षी, सखी from राक्षि, श्लाक्षि and सखि with the feminine affix ई

(IV. 1. 65) The above forms could also have been evolved by the simple rules of sandhi, as **राशि + ई = राशी ॥** It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding इ ? There would arise difficulty in the forms like **अतिसखि ॥** From the word **सखी** formed by डीप् under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound **सखीमतिक्रान्तः = अतिसखि**, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48 (the samāsānta affix **टच्** is not added here as required by V. 4. 91, that rule applying to the masculine form **सखि** and not to the feminine **सखी**). Now if in forming **सखि + ई = सखी**, had we not elided the letter इ of खि, then the long ई being the single substitute for both इ + ई, would be considered as like the final इ of **सखि** by VI. 1. 85. That being so, the word **अतिसखि** would be considered a non-चि word by I. 4. 7, for **सखि** has been specifically excluded from चि class. Not being a चि, we cannot have the form **अतिसखेः** in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding इ before the feminine ई, so that the ekādeśa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply.

The short इ is elided before Taddhita affixes:—**हुलि—सौलेखः, बलि—बालेयः, अञ्जि—आञ्जेयः ॥** अ is elided before ई as:—**कुमार—कुमारी, गौर—गौरी, चार्ङ्गरव—चार्ङ्गरवी ॥** अ and आ are elided before the Taddhita:—**वक्ष—वाक्षिः, वक्ष—वृक्षिः, चूड—चौडिः, बलाका—बालाकिः, सुमित्रा—सौमित्रिः ॥**

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (सौ), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter, and of certain feminine in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus **काण्ड + ई = काण्डे; कुञ्च ॥ सौर्व + ई = सौर्वे** (the व would have been elided by VI. 4. 149). It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra. This may also be done by reading the anuvṛtti of **भ्यां** (VI. 4. 136), and **न** (VI. 4. 137) into this sūtra.

Vart:—**इयङ्** and **उवङ्** are superseded, when they would apply simultaneously with this lopa. Thus **इयङ्** and **उवङ्** have unimpeded scope in श्री or भू + औ or भस् (जस्), as **भ्रियो, भ्रियः, भुयो, भुवः ॥** Lopa has unimpeded scope in **कमण्डलू—कामण्डलेयः** (with **टच्** IV. 1. 135), and **भाद्रवद्वेद्यः ॥** But in **वत्सप्री + टच्** (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have **वात्सप्रेयः** (वत्सं प्रीणाति = वत्सप्रीः, तस्यापत्यं); so also **लेखाधुः—लेखभ्रियः** with the **टच्** affix, this word belonging to Subhrādi class (IV. 1. 123).

सूर्यतिथ्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्य, तिथ्य, अगस्त्य, मत्स्यानाम्, यः, उपधायाः, (इति, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूर्य तिथ्य अगस्त्य मत्स्य इत्येतेषां यकारस्य उपधाया भवत्य लोपो भवति इति परतस्तद्धिते च ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ मत्स्यस्य ङघामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सूर्यागस्त्ययोङ्ठे च ङघां च ॥

वा० ॥ तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नभ्राणि ॥

वा० ॥ भन्तिकशब्दस्य तसिप्रत्यये परतः ककारादिशब्दस्य लोपो वक्तव्य, आद्युदात्तं च ॥

वा० ॥ तमे सौर्व ॥ वा० ॥ काविलोपि बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ये च ॥

149. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, भगस्य and मत्स्य, (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य् is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणकादिक् = सौरी (सूर्य + अण् under IV. 3, 112 = सौर्य, then ई of ङीप् = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तैषमहः, तैषी रात्रिः ॥ So also भगस्यस्यापत्यं ङी = भागस्ती (IV. 1. 114), भागस्तीयः ; So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with ङीप् as it belongs to Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूर्य &c, were to be qualified by the word भ, then the sūtra would mean सूर्यादीनां भसंज्ञानां “of सूर्य &c, when they get the designation of भ”; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूर्यस्य ङी = सूरी, भागस्यस्य ङी = भागस्ती, &c, only, where the forms सूर्य &c, are Bha, and not to their derivatives, as सौर्य &c: and there would not have been the forms like सौरी बलाका ; because, here the word सूर्य is not Bha before the affix ई, but the word सौर्य is Bha. Hence we have introduced the words “and their derivatives” in the translation, so as to cover the cases like सौरी बलाका ॥

In the last example, we again have an illustration, of the rule VI. 4. 22, which says that for purposes of asiddha the आभ्रय must be the same. Thus सौर्य + ई = सौर्य् + अ लोपा + ई = सौरी ॥ But सौर्य itself was formed by the elision of अ of सूर्य before the affix अण्, thus, सूर्य + अण् = सौर्य् + ० + अण् (last sūtra) = सौर्य ॥ But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4. 22, then we have the following equation सौर्य् + ० + अ (of अण्) + ई = सौर्य् + ० + ० (अ of अण् being elided by VI. 4. 148) + ई ॥ Here य् cannot be elided, as it is not upadhā or penultimate: because the first lopa is considered asiddha. But it is not to be so considered, as their scopes (आभ्रय) are different. Hence we have the elision of य् by this sūtra. It should not be objected that the य् here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as सौर्य् + ई = सौर्य् + ० + ई (अ elided by the last sūtra), and thus य् is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4. 22, applies. This elision of अ् will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of य्, their scope being the same. So being considered asiddha, य् still retains its designation of upadhā and is elided by the present sūtra. It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthanivat-bhāva, because for purposes of अलोप, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate य्? Observe मत्स्यचरी ॥ This word is thus formed. The affix चरद् is added to मत्सी by V. 3. 53, in the sense of मत्सी भूतपूर्वा ॥ Then the मत्सी becomes masculine मत्स्य by VI. 4. 35, and we

have मस्त्वचर ॥ This word takes डीप् by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicatory इ ॥ Thus मस्त्वचर+ई, and the word is भ, but the च is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The च has been read for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : उपधायाः alone would have been enough for the purposes of this aphorism. The rule contained in this sūtra is rather too general ; it is limited by the following vārtikas, which enumerate the conditions under which the elision takes place.

Vart :—The च of मस्त्व is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मस्त्वस्येह मांसं=मास्त्वम् ॥

Vart :—Of सूर्य and भगस्त्व before the affixes छ, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, भागस्तीयः, भागस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं चरं निर्वपेत्, भागस्त्व formed with the Patronymic भण् (IV. 1. 114)

Vart :—Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः=तैषः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3).

Vart :—Of अन्तिक before the affix त्सि, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable : as, अन्तितः in अन्तितो न हूयान् (V. 4. 45).

Vart :—Before the affix त्तम, it loses the syllable तिक as well as क, as अन्तमः or अन्तित्तमः, in अन्ते त्वं नो अन्तित्तमः अन्तित्तमे अवरोहति ॥

Vart :—The elision of क of अन्तिक takes place diversely, before the second member also, as अन्तिके सीदति=अन्तिषन् (स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106)

Vart :—The elision takes place also before the affix च, as अन्तिचः, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अन्तिके भवः, with the affix चत् IV. 4. 110).

हलस्तद्धितस्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, तद्धितस्य, (य उपधायाः लोपः इति) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य तद्धित्यकारस्य उपधाया इति परतो लोपो भवति ॥

150. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

The anuvritti of "taddhita" ceases, because of its mention in the next sūtra. Hence this sūtra applies to feminine ई only. As गार्गी, वास्वी from गार्ग्य and वास्व ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant'? Observe कारिकेयी ॥ Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'. Observe वैद्यस्य भार्या=वैद्यी ॥

आपत्यस्य च तद्धिते ज्ञाति ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपत्यस्य, च, तद्धिते, अनाति (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आपत्यकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य तद्धिते अनाकारादौ लोपो भवति ॥

151. The य्, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्गाणां समूहः = गर्गकम् from गर्ग्य, वासकम् from वास्य (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say 'a Patronymic क्'? Observe सांकाश्यकः, कार्मप्ल्यकः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic य also, as सांमी इष्टिः ॥

Why do we say 'not beginning with a long आ'? Observe गार्ग्यायणः, वात्स्यायनः ॥ The य should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कारिक्रियस्यापत्यं = कारिक्रियः ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Taddhita affix'? Observe गार्ग्ययोः, वात्स्ययोः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

क्यच्च्योश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्य, च्योः, च, (हलः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्य च्व इत्येतयोश्च परत आपत्यकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य लोपो भवति ॥

152. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य, and the adverbial affix च्वि ॥

Thus वात्सीयति or वात्सीयते गार्गीयति, or गार्गीयते ॥ So also गार्गीभूतः, वात्सीभूतः ॥ But सांकाश्यायते (where य is not Patronymic) and so also सांकाश्याभूतः ; and not also in कारिक्रियीयति, कारिक्रियीभूतः, the य not being preceded by a consonant.

बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वक-आदिभ्यः, छस्य, लुक् (भस्य तद्धिते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडादिषु बिल्वादयः पठ्यन्ते ॥ नडादीनां कुक् च इति कृतकुगागमा बिल्वकादयो भवन्ति तेभ्य उत्तरस्य छस्य भस्य तद्धिते परतो लुग् भवति ॥

153. The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of Naḍādi class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क् is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment क्, the affix छ is elided. Thus बिल्वा यस्यां सन्ति = बिल्वकीयाः ; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = वैल्वकाः ॥ Similarly वेणुकीयाः—वैणुकाः, वैत्रकीयाः, वैत्रकाः, वेतसकीयाः, वेतसकाः, वृणकीयाः, वृणकाः इक्षुकीयाः, ऐक्षुकाः, काष्ठकीयाः, काष्ठकाः, कपोतकीयाः, कापोतकाः ॥ There is shortening of the final of कुञ्चा by the Vārtika कुञ्चा ह्रस्वं च ॥ कुञ्चकीयाः, कौञ्चकाः ॥ छग्रहणं किञ्च, छमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्यात् कुक्को निवृत्तिर्मा भूतिः, ॥ अन्यथा हि संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतराप्राये उभयोरप्यभाव इति कुगपि निवर्त्तते ॥ लुग्रहणं सर्वलोपो यथा स्याद् यकारमात्रस्य ना भूत् ॥

The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क् ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim:—संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतराप्राये (or अप्राये) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अप्रायः), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise". The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय, and not merely of य ॥

तुष्टिमेयस्सु ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुः, इष्ट, इम, ईयस्सु, (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टन् इमनिच् ईयसुन् इत्योषु परतः तृचङस्य लोपो भवति ॥

154. The affix **तृ** is elided before the affixes **इष्टन्**, **इमनिच्** and **ईयसुन्** ॥

Thus करिष्ठः, विजायिष्ठः, बहिष्ठः, वाहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix **तृ** is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (दि) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules. The anuvṛitti of **लुक्** of the last aphorism should not be read into this, for had the elision taken place by **लुक्**, then the mark of the affix would also have disappeared likewise (I. 1. 63), and there would have remained no guṇa in विजायिष्ठ and करिष्ठ ॥ See V. 1. 122, and V. 3. 59; for these affixes. The affix **इमन्** has been read into this aphorism for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, there being no example of **तृ** followed by **इमन्**; **तृ** is followed by **इष्ट** and **ईयस्** by V. 3. 59.

टः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ टः, (भस्य लोपः इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य टेलोपो भवति इष्टमेयस्सु परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ जाविष्ठवत्यातिपदिकस्य कार्यं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ जाविष्ठवत्यातिपदिकस्य पुंवङ्गावरभावदिलोपयणादिपरविन्मतोलुक्कनर्थमिति ॥

155. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes **इष्ट**, **इमन्** and **ईयस्** follow.

Thus पटिष्ठः, पटिमा, and पटीयान् from पट्, and लघिष्ठः, लघिमा and लघीयान् from लघु ॥

Vārt:—The Prātipadika followed by the causative **णि**, undergoes all the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix **इष्ट** followed it. Those changes are (1) पुंवङ्गावरः the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, एनीमाचष्टे = एतयति, इत्येतयति ॥ **इष्ट** belongs to तसिलादि affixes and causes masculination by VI. 3. 35, (2) रभावः—the change of **क्** to **र**, as पृथुमाचष्टे = प्रथयति, ग्रथयति, see VI. 4. 161. (3) टिलोपः—as, पटुमाचष्टे = पटयति, लघयति by this sūtra, (4) यणादिपरम् i.e. the application of Rule VI. 4. 156, as, स्थूलमाचष्टे = स्थवयति ॥ According to the school of Bhāradvāja, three more purposes are served: (5) विन् मतोलुक्—as साङ्ग्वणमाचष्टे = सजयति, वसुमन्तमाचष्टे = वसयति, see V. 3. 65. (6) कन्विधिः—the substitution of **कन्** for **युवन्** and **अस्** (V. 3. 64)—as युव्रानमाचष्टे or अस्पमाचष्टे = कनयति ॥ (7) प्रादि substitution, as required by VI. 4. 157: as, प्रियमाचष्टे = प्रापयति ॥

स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रभुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थूल, दूर, युव, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, भुद्राणाम्, यण्, आदिपरम्, पूर्वस्य, च गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थूल दूर युव ह्रस्व क्षिप्र भुद्र इत्येतेषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते इष्ट मयस्सु परतः, पूर्वस्य च गुणो भवति ॥

156. Before the affixes **इष्ट**, **इमन्** and **ईयस्**, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in **स्थूल**, **दूर**, **युवन्**, **ह्रस्व**, **क्षिप्र** and **भुद्र** ॥

That is ल, र, वन्, व, र, and र are elided. Thus स्थविष्ठः, स्थवीयान्; वविष्ठः ववीयान्; वविष्ठ, ववीयान्; ह्रासिष्ठः, ह्रासीयान्, ह्रासिमा; क्षेपिष्ठः, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ह्रस्व, क्षिप्त, and क्षुद्र are read in Prithvâdi class and take 'iman' affix (V. 1. 122). क्षोभिष्ठः, क्षोभायान्, क्षोभिमा ॥ Why do we say परं in यणादिपरं i.e. 'the last semi-vowel'? The first semi-vowel of युवन् and ह्रस्व i.e. व of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

प्रियस्थिरस्फिरुरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बहिगर्बधिब्रद्राघि-
वृन्दाः ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय, स्थिर, स्फिर, उरु, बहुल, गुरु, वृद्ध, तृप्, दीर्घ,
वृन्दारकाणाम्, प्र, स्थ, स्फ, वर्, बहि, गर्, बर्धि, त्रप्, द्राघि, वृन्दाः, (इष्टमेयस्तु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय स्थिर स्फिर उरु बहुल गुरु वृद्ध तृप् दीर्घ वृन्दाः इत्येतिषां प्र स्थ स्फ वर् बहि गर् बर्धि त्रप् द्राघि वृन्द् इत्येते ययासंख्यमादेशा भवन्ति इष्टमेयस्तुपरतः ॥

157. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place:—प्र for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर् for उरु, बह् for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ध् for वृद्ध, त्रप् for तृप्, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रेष्ठः, प्रेमा, प्रेमान्; स्थिर, स्थेष्ठः, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा; स्फिर, स्फेष्ठः, स्फेयान्; उरु, वरिष्ठः, वरिमा, वरीयान्; बहुल, बहिष्ठः, बहीयान्, बहिमा; गुरु, गरिष्ठः, गरीयान्, गरिमा; वृद्ध, वरिष्ठः, वरीयान्; तृप्, त्रिष्ठः, त्रीयान्; दीर्घ, द्राघिष्ठः, द्राघीयान्, द्राघिमा; वृन्दारक, वृन्दिष्ठः, वृन्दीयान्; प्रियोरुगुरु-बहुलदीर्घाः पृथ्वादिषु पठ्यन्ते, तेनान्येषामिमानिञ् न भवतीति नोदाह्रियते ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in Prithvâdi class and take इमन् (V. 1. 122), others do not.

बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, लोपः, भू, च, बहोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तराणामिष्टमेयसां लोपो भवति तस्य च बहोः स्थाने भू इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

158. The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु, and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा ॥ In the case of इष्ट, the following rule 159 will apply. Under I. 1. 54 and 67, बहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. इ or ई; in this case. ॥ बहु belongs to Prithvâdi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. 1. 122) The repetition of बहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthâni, for which the word भू is to be substituted: otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

इष्टस्य यिद् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टस्य, यिद्, च, (बहोः भू च बहोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरस्य इष्टस्य यिडागमो भवति बहोश्च भूरादेशो भवति ॥

159. After बहु, the augment यिद् is added to इष्ट, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठः ॥ This augment यिद् debars the lopa substitution, of the last sūtra, in the case of इष्ट ॥ The इ in यिद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the

augment being ॠ ॥ Or इष्ठ may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the इ, the augment यि may be added.

ज्यादादीयसः ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यात्, आत्, ईयसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्यादुत्तरस्य ईयस आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

160. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस्, after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥ ज्य is substituted for प्रचस्य by V. 3. 61. 'Lopa' being shut out by the intervening विद् VI. 4. 159, the आत् is read in this sūtra. If the anuvṛitti of 'lopa' were present here, then the अ of ज्य would be lengthened before यस् by VII. 4. 25, and we would get the form ज्यायान् ॥ The peculiar construction of this sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्द्विजाविविधिः 'when an operation which is taught in the aṅgādhikāra (VI. 4, end—VII. 4, end) has taken place, and another operation of the aṅgādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place.' In VII. 4. 25, however, ऋङ्ङ् is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ र, ऋतः, हल, आदेः, लघोः, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रषाब्द आदेशो भवति ऋकारस्य हलादेर्लघोरिष्टेमेयस्सु परतः ॥

Kārikā पृथुं वृद्धं वृषं चैव कृषं च दृढमेव च ।

परिपूर्वं वृढं चैव षडेत्तान् रविधौ स्मरेत् ॥

161. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when this ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus प्रयिष्ठः, प्रयीयान् and प्रथिमा from पृथु (V. 1. 122), ऋदिष्टः, ऋषीयान् and ऋथिमा ॥ Why do we say 'the ऋ'? Observe पठिष्ठः &c. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe ऋजिष्ठः, ऋजीयान् ॥ Why do we say 'when prosodially short'? Observe कृष्णिष्ठः, कृष्णीयान्, कृष्णिमा ॥ The following are the six words to which this rule applies and to none else:—पृथु, वृद्ध, वृष, कृष, दृढ, परिवृढ ॥ It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, मातृ, भ्रातृ, &c, as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति, भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातयति ॥

विभाषजोऽञ्छन्दसि ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऋजोः, छन्दसि, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋजु इत्येतस्य ऋतः स्थानि विभाषा रेफ आदेशो भवति इष्टेमेयस्सु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

162. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, the ऋ of ऋजु may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhandas.

As रजिष्ठः and ऋजिष्ठः, in रजिष्ठमेति पन्थानम्, स्वयंजिष्ठः ॥

प्रकृत्यैकाच् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, एक-अच्, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् यञसप्तकं तद्विधेयेष्वसु परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रकृत्या ऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः ॥

163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ट, इमन्, and ईयस् ॥

Thus सजिष्ठः, सजीयान्, सजयति from सजिन्, the जिन् being elided by V. 3. 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. सजयति is the causative, formed on the model of इष्ट by the Vārtika under VI. 4. 155. So also सुचिष्टः, सुचीयान् and सुचयति from सुचन्, the मनुष् being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe वसिष्ठः from वसुमन् ॥ This rule is an exception to VI. 4. 155.

Vārt.:—राजन्य, मनुष्य and युवन् retain their original form unchanged, before the affix अक् ॥ As, राजन्यानां समूहः=राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥ This debars the elision of च् required by VI. 4. 151. So यूना भावः=यौवनिकः with वुम् affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इनप्यनपत्ये ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, अणि, अ नपत्ये, (प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्तमनपत्यार्थेणि परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

164. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Thus साङ्कुटिनम्, सांराविणम्, सांमार्जिनम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Kṛit-affix इनुच् (III. 3. 44), and then अण् is added in स्वार्थे by V. 4. 15. So also साम्बिणम् from सजिन् ॥ Why 'when अण् follows'? Observe इण्डिनां समूहः=इण्डम् ॥ It is formed by अम् (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe मेधाविनोऽपत्यं=मेधावः ॥

गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाथि, विदथि, केशि, गणि, पणिनः, च, (अणिप्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाथिन् विदथिन् केशिन् गणिन् पणिन् इत्येते चाणि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

165. गाथिन्, विदथिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्यं=गाथिनः, वैदथिनः, केशिनः, गणिनः, and पाणिनः ॥ This sūtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगादिश्च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-आदिः, च, (इन् अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिश्च इनणि प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

166. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus शाङ्किनेऽपत्यं=शाङ्किनः, याद्विणः, वार्जिणः ॥

अन्, ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, (अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रन्तमणि प्रकृत्या भवति अपत्ये चानपत्ये च ॥

167. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामानः, वैमनः, सौख्यनः, जैख्यनः, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुखन् and जैख्यन् ॥

ये चाभावकर्मणोः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, अभाव, कर्मणोः, (तद्धिते अन् प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकाराद्यौ च तद्धिते ऽभावकर्मणोरर्थयोरन् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

168. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus सामन्तु साधुः=सामन्तः, ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा=राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to Purohitādi class and takes यक् (V. 1. 128).

आत्माध्वानौ खे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्म, अध्वानौ, खे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन् अध्वन् इत्येतौ खे परतः प्रकृत्या भवतः ॥

169. The finals of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं=आत्मनीनः (V. 1. 9), अध्वानमलङ्कामी (V. 2. 16)=अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsanta affix टष् added to the avyayibhāva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by अष् (V. 4. 85).

न मपूर्वो ऽपत्ये ऽवर्मणः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, म, पूर्वः, अपत्ये, अवर्मणः, (अणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपूर्वो ऽन् अवर्मणाणि परतो ऽपत्यर्थे न प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मपूर्वप्रतिषेधे वा हितनाम्न इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

170. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म्, with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus सुवाम्णोऽपत्यं=सौवामः, चान्द्रसामः from चान्द्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म्'? Observe सोऽवनः, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चमर्णा परिवृत्तो रयः=चामर्णः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं=चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vārt :—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं=हेतनामः or हेतनामनः ॥

ब्राह्मो जातौ ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मः, अजातौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्म इत्येतदपत्याधिकारोपि सामर्थ्या अपत्यान्यत्राणि देल्लोपार्थं निपात्यते ततोऽजातौ अपत्यइत्येव अपत्ये जातावपि ब्रह्मण्टिलोपो न भवति ॥

171. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a kind or jāti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मो गर्भः, ब्राह्म इविः, ब्राह्ममन्त्रम् ; ब्राह्मो नारदः ॥ (2) अजातौ, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti ; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix : as ब्रह्मणाऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana'. When jāti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

कार्मस्तच्छील्ये ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्मः, ताच्छील्ये, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कार्म इति ताच्छील्ये टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

172. कर्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or prompt therein'.

This is formed by ण् affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144, the form कर्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण् and अण् affixes, in the sense of tāchchhīlīka are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167, would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim:—ताच्छीलिकं णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix ण् is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though झिप् is added, to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ण्-formed words, in the feminine: as चौरी; तापसी &c. The ण् taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that? Observe कर्मणः इदम् = कर्मणम् ॥

औक्षमनपत्ये ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ औक्षम्, अ नपत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ औक्षमित्यनपत्येण टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

173. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पदम् but औक्षणः = उक्ष्णो ऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकजैह्वाशिनेयवासिनायनिधौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवै-
क्ष्वाकमैत्रेयहिरण्मयानि ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाण्डिनायन, हास्तिनायन, आथर्वणिक,
जैह्वाशिनेय, वासिनायनि, धौणहत्य, धैवत्य, सारव, ऐक्ष्वाक, मैत्रेय, हिरण्मयानि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायन आथर्वणिक जैह्वाशिनेय वासिनायनि धौणहत्य धैवत्य सारव ऐक्ष्वाक
मैत्रेय हिरण्मय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते ॥

174. The following are irregularly formed ; 1.

Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstināyana, 3. Ātharvaṇika, 4. Jaihmāśineya, 5. Vāsināyani, 6. Bhraṇḥatya, 7. Dhaivatya. 8. Sārava, 9. Aikshvāka, 10. Maitreya and 11. Hiraṇmaya.

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) वाण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from वण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is कृ (IV. 2. 91). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: वण्डिनोऽपत्यं = वाण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantādi class (IV. 2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvaṇika: the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माशने and वासिन् are Jaihmāśineya and Vāsināyani, the former with the affix इक् of the Subhrādi class (IV. 1. 123), and the latter with the affix किम् of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from धूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix व्यञ्, and न् being replaced by त् = धूणज्जो भावः, धीज्जो भावः ॥ इन् takes त् before affixes having an indicatory ण or ञ् by VII. 3. 32: it might be said त् would be added to धूणहन् before व्यञ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like औणशी, वार्त्तनः ॥ The त् in Bhraṇḥatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरव् with the affix अण्, the final अण् being elided, सरव्यां भवः = सारवयुक्तां ॥ (9) The son of ईशाकु, with अम् affix (IV. 1. 168), the final इ is elided, or ईशाकुः जनपदेषु भवः = ऐशाकः with अण् affix (IV. 2. 132). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final इ ॥ As one word is ऐशाकः and the other ऐशाकः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐशाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grīṣṭyādi class IV. 1. 136, and takes इम् as मित्रयु + एय, here VI. 4. 146, requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of इ, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, before एय, as the lopa of यु is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22; however the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskādi class and loses the affix in the plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidādi class (IV. 1. 104), it would have taken the affix अम्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly: as मित्रयु + अम् = मित्र + इय (VII. 3. 2) + अ = मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādi class (II. 4.

63), for then by II. 4. 63, अम् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with अम् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with वुम् under IV. 3. 126; but we require वुम्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (11) हिरण्यव from हिरण्य with मयद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्यमयः ॥

ऋत्वावास्त्ववास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्वा, वास्त्व, वास्त्व, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्वा वास्त्व वास्त्व माध्वी हिरण्यय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed : R̥itvya, Vastvya Vâstva, Mâdhvî, and Hiranyaya.

The word ऋत्वा is derived from ऋतु, and वास्त्व from वास्तु with the affix वत्, उ being changed to व ॥ ऋतौ भवम् = ऋत्वाय, वास्तौ भवम् = वास्त्वाय ॥ वास्त्व is from वस्तु, as वस्तुनि भवः = वास्त्वः with the affix अण् ॥ माध्वी from मधु with the affix अण् in the feminine, as माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधीः ॥ हिरण्यव is from हिरण्य with the affix मयद्, the म being elided.

